

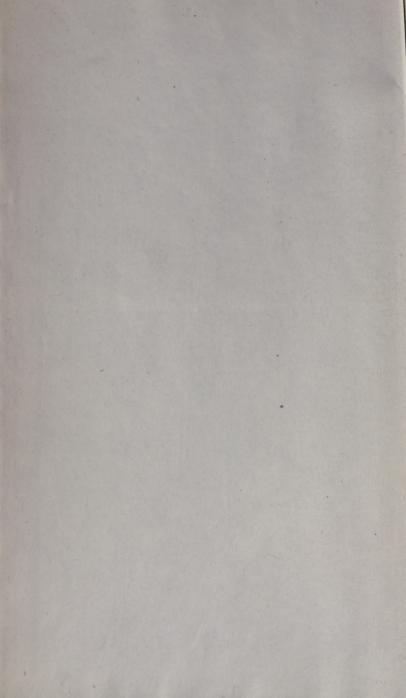
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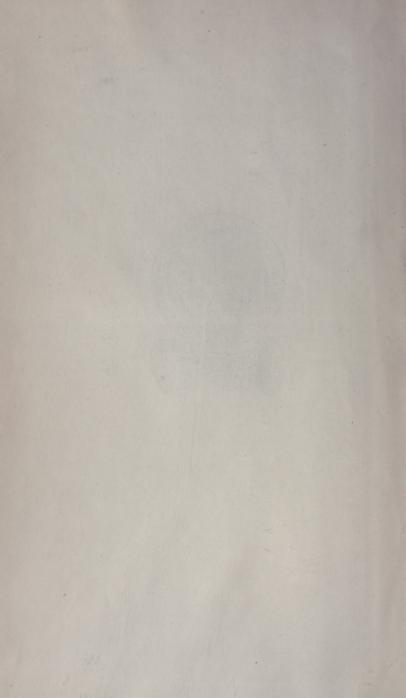
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- The Council of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society desire it to be known that the Authors alone are responsible for any statements or opinions contained in their contributions to the Transactions of the Society.
- This volume is edited by Mr. Charles W. Sutton, and he has especial pleasure in acknowledging the obligations which he and the Society generally are under to Mr. Richard Gill for preparing the combined Index to Vols. XI.—XX.
- For the use of the illustrations to Mr. Gatty's lecture on "Pigmy Flint Implements" the Council are indebted to the courtesy of the Anthropological Society.

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Meetings for the reading of Papers, Discussions, and Exhibition of Antiquities were held monthly during the Winter Session in the Chetham College, Manchester. A Special Meeting was held at the Whitworth Institute on January 19th, 1903.

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ANCIENT FORESTS, CHASES, AND DEER PARKS IN CHESHIRE.

BY WILLIAM HARRISON.

HOUGH not perhaps so densely wooded as Lancashire, Cheshire seems to have possessed at the time of the Norman Conquest at least a fair quantity of wood. We find in Domesday a frequent mention of wood, and sometimes of coppice, hays, and aeries of hawks. In what is now the Macclesfield hundred we read of woodland nine miles in length and six miles in breadth contiguous to the forest hills, and containing six enclosures for taking the deer and wild goats. In Wirral, rather singularly, there is mention of woods only in Prenton. Somerford, and Mollington, though in later times there was the tradition, similar to what has been found in other places, that a man might have gone from tree top to tree top from the Meoles stocks to Birkenhead. And the very name Birkenhead, "the promontory of the birches," as well as such names as Woodchurch, Woodside, and Capenhurst, indicates that there was no lack of trees.

We have explicit mention also in later documents of woods in Tranmere, Bidston, and Wallasey, and between Blacon and Saughall, as well as, outside Wirral, at such places as Huxley.

Mr. Brownbill, who in the *Transactions* of the Historic Society (vol. xv., n.s.) has summarised for us the Cheshire Domesday, says that Warmundestrov hundred (the district surrounding Nantwich) may be pictured as then woodland with little settlements every mile or so in the more open portions. Middlewich hundred he also gives as "well wooded;" Bucklow, "a good deal of wood;" Tunendune, *i.e.*, the part in the north from Halton to near Lymm, "a fair amount of wood;" Risedon, the district lying east of Chester, as "well wooded." And so we feel justified in assuming that on the whole the county was tolerably well wooded.

The development of the forests in Cheshire followed in many respects a different course from that of the Lancashire forests, in consequence of the earlier creation of the palatinate of the earldom of Chester. The forest rights from immediately after the Conquest belonged not to the king, but to the Earl of Chester. They were, therefore, not affected by the Charter of the Forest, and, this being so, there were no perambulations resulting from the charter, and there is an absence of all reference to the county in the proceedings attendant on the agitations in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I.

When Hugh d'Avranches, known as Hugh Lupus, obtained from the Conqueror the earldom of Chester, to hold "as freely by the sword as the king held his realm by the crown," he set himself within his miniature kingdom to imitate his liege lord in creating forests, or, at any rate, making additions to those already existing. This was done before Domesday, for we find in that record such statements as these in regard to Kingsley and Weaverham, "The earl placed this in his forest," or "Of this land the earl put three hides in the forest."

There were four great forests in Cheshire-Maccles-

field, Mara, Mondrem, and Wirral. The original areas are shown by the margins of green colour in the accompanying map. Lists of the townships or vills contained in them respectively will be found in the second edition of Ormerod, vol. iii. 541, ii. 105, 356.*

MACCLESFIELD FOREST occupied a large area at the eastern end of the county, its boundary passing up the Goyt to its source, then down the Dane, and by North Rode, Gawsworth, Prestbury, and Bullock Smithy to Otterspool, and so up the Mersey to the Goyt again. A detailed perambulation of its boundaries, made in 1619, will be found in Earwaker's East Cheshire, vol. ii., p. 5.

MARA and MONDREM were for many purposes linked together, and it is not easy to say precisely where the boundary line between them ran. In the Harl. MS., quoted in Ormerod, which contains a list of the vills, they are said to be within the forest (not forests) of Mara and Mondrem, as if there were but one. This way of speaking of them may have been because they adjoined, and because the hereditary forestership of both came to be in the same family. They appear, however, to have been distinct, for in the reign of Edward I. claims to the forestership of both were allowed in one case as to Mara only, and in another as to Mondrem only.

Taking them as one area, in the absence of any precise line of demarcation between them, we may say that the boundary extended along the banks of the Mersey by Ince and Frodsham, then up the Weaver to the

^{*}As the facts cited in what follows are largely culled from Ormerod, references are only given where some other authority is to be quoted. It is a matter of regret that the Cheshire Forest Rolls at the Public Record Office, which still await transcription, have not been available.

neighbourhood of Nantwich, then taking a north-westerly direction towards Tarporley, and so by Tarvin northward to the Mersey again. Of this large area the district extending southwards from the banks of the Mersey to the south end of what is now called Delamere appears to have constituted the forest of Mara or La Mara (whence "Delamere"), the more southerly district towards Nantwich constituting the forest of Mondrem.

Wirral seems to have been formed into a forest at a later date than those already mentioned, and apparently as a punishment for persistent and irritating depredations of the oppressed natives. The district was laid waste and afforested in the time of Randal de Meschines (A.D. 1119-1128). Its area included the whole of the hundred, and so was bounded by the sea and the estuaries of the Dee and Mersey. On the remaining side it adjoined for a distance the forest of Mara, and came almost to the gates of Chester.

These forests were held by the successive Earls of Chester until the year 1237, when the earldom fell into the hands of the crown. After some vicissitudes it was ultimately settled on the heir apparent for the time being.

Another forest existed in the hundred of Atiscross, on the southern side of the Dee, below Chester, and is mentioned in Domesday as having been formed by the earl. These lands then formed part of the earldom. Only a small part of them, viz., the townships of Dodleston and Claverton, is included in the present county of Chester, the remainder having been by the Statute of Wales (12 Edward I., c. 5) detached for certain purposes, afterwards in the reign of Henry VIII. formed into the county of Flint, and ultimately in the reign of Elizabeth finally

severed from the palatinate. For this reason, and because the forest seems to have early come to an end, we need say no more about it. It is perhaps the "Overmarsh" of the Cheshire Forest Rolls.

RUDHEATH is named as a forest in the list of Cheshire Forest Rolls alluded to in Selby's Lancashire and Cheshire Records. Ormerod, however, in his account of Rudheath seems to have no suspicion of its having been a forest. Rud, according to Canon Taylor (Names and their Histories, 383), means a clearing in a wood.

The County Palatine of Chester had its own justices, apart from those of the kingdom generally, and the justices of the earldom were in general justices in eyre of the earl's forests, though sometimes a distinct appointment occurs. In 25 Edward III. John de Macclesfield is described as "late" justice of the forest of "Wyrhale." Two years later we read of pleas before the justices in eyre of the forest of "Wirhale."

The name of swanimote, or, as it is often written, swainmote, which in general throughout England was applied to a subordinate court, sitting about every six weeks, appears in Cheshire to have been used for the highest court, that of the justices in eyre, and, in Macclesfield at any rate, for an annual court at which officers and ministers were elected.* Perhaps this is why we hear of the lesser swainmote, it being of a more subordinate character. We read that in the fourteenth year of Edward IV. John Bruyn of Tervyn, with Richard Carlele, was appointed during pleasure to hold the lesser swainmote in Mara and Mondrem. Regarders, "of whom there was much need," were ordered in 1403-4 to be elected in

^{*} Earwaker, ii. 5.

the full court at Macclesfield, and the order was repeated in 1406, 1408, and 1412.*

THE HEREDITARY FORESTERS.

In each of the great forests was a master forester, who (except in the case of Macclesfield) held lands by serjeanty on the condition of serving as forester. Thus Kingsley was in the reign of Henry I. conferred by Ranulph the first, third Earl of Chester, on Ranulph de Kingsley by service of the office of master forester of Mara and Mondrem. And Alan Sylvestre, about 1120, had conferred upon him the manors of Storeton and Puddington to hold by cornage as bailiff or forester of Wirral. In each case the service was originally a burden, an obligation attaching to the estate, and on failure to perform which the estate would be forfeited. But the burden soon changed into a privilege. The forestership was not without its advantages, in direct emolument, in control over others, and in dignity. As it was attached to the estate it became hereditary, and so developed into a freehold office. The foresters thus became known as hereditary chief foresters, or foresters in fee, and for centuries they wielded a great power in their respective jurisdictions. The forestership of Mara and Mondrem passed by marriage to the Dones, and although in the reign of Edward I. a moiety of that of Mara was adjudged to belong to a Grosvenor of Little Budworth, under a charter granted between 1153 and 1160, and a share in that of Mondrem to belong to a Weever, the whole ultimately came to the Dones, whose seat was at Utkinton.

The forestership of Wirral passed by successive

^{*} Recog. Rolls.

marriages to the families of Storeton and Bamville, and ultimately to that of Stanley (c. 1310). The horn by right of which the forestership was held has been handed down and is preserved by Sir John Errington. A representation of it appears in Sulley's *Hundred of Wirral*.

The master forestership of Macclesfield seems to have been held in gross without any estate. It was granted to Richard de Davenport about A.D. 1166, and (perhaps because it was not attached to any estate) appears, as Ormerod says, to have ultimately become "rather an honorary office, and to have been gradually superseded so far as its active powers were concerned by that of the stewards, who were appointed and removed at pleasure until the reign of Edward IV., when the office of Master Forester of the Forest of Macclesfield and also the Stewardship of Macclesfield (including the Hundred and Forest) were granted to Thomas, Lord Stanley, and the heirs male of his body, in which family the said rights have continued uninterruptedly, excepting the intrusion of Sir William Brereton during the usurpation."

In Macclesfield there were also eight subordinate hereditary foresters, who held their estates on the tenure of performing forest duties in their respective districts, and one such forester who held office apart from any estate. The following is the list in the sixteenth year of Edward I.: Ricardus de Vernon held Marple and Wibbersley (Merphull and Wybberlegh) by grant from Randolph, Earl of Chester; Robertus de Downes held Downes and Taxal (Dounes and Taksale) of ancient tenure; Thomas de Orreby held his forestry of ancient tenure by homage without any tenement; Johannes de Sutton held Sutton and Disley (Dystelegh) of ancient tenure; Grym de Stanlegh held Stanlegh of ancient tenure; Henricus de Worth held land which was Orme's

per grant from Randolph, Earl of Chester; Ricardus de Heghlegh held Heghlegh (in Sutton) by grant from Randolph, the earl; Adam of Sutton held lands in Sutton per grant from Hugh; Jordanus de Dystelegh held his own land of Dystelegh per grant from Randolph, the earl (Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, ii. 6, 7, 88, 90).

These subordinate foresters in consideration of the duties they were called upon to fulfil were allowed certain special privileges. They might take foxes, hares, squirrels, weasels, otters, pikes, hawks, and eagles, and might have fishing and fowling, the right shoulder of beasts taken in the forest, and of beasts found dead all but the fore quarters, which were to be sent to Macclesfield. They had cropping of wood for their own beasts; wood for enclosing, building, and burning without hindrance; bark of all oaks cast down, given, or sold, and all millstones found in the forest; and were to be free of pannage through all the forest, while having themselves certain rights of pannage. And they had also the perquisite called pelf, which enabled them to tithe, as it were, the beasts, poultry, clothing, corn, vessels, and furniture of the hapless dwellers in the forest.

Something similar to the subordinate forestership of Macclesfield seems to have existed at Delamere. Sir William Troutbeck, in the reign of Edward IV., when challenged by a writ of quo warranto, claimed in fee the manor and vil of Budworth-le-Frith, in the forest of Delamere, with power of building and enclosing so as to be safe from the beasts of the forest, and to have free warren of rabbits, and power of felling and selling wood and underwood without the interference of any forester or verderer, and pasture for hogs without payment of pannage. Also in right of the manor to be sole forester within certain bounds, viz., from Stanford Bridge along

the king's highway to Northwich, then to Darlegh Brook, then to the bounds between Rushton and Olton to Yanelegh Mill, and between Ayton and Alpram to Torpley and so to Stanford Bridge. And in right of the bailiwick he claimed a variety of subsidiary rights, amounting practically to an exclusion of the chief forester. Whether the claim was allowed or not does not appear.

In Mara and Mondrem, and later in Macclesfield also, we find appointments, generally for life, of surveyors, or supervisors and equitators (riders), and the office must have been of some value as we find it often granted in reversion, *i.e.*, during the lifetime of the existing holders, and to come in force after their deaths.

The nature of the rights exercised by the superior foresters is set forth in the claim made by Richard Done in 1302, when his pretensions were challenged by a Grosvenor, but were nevertheless allowed. The record shows that he claimed to have the forestership in fee of Mara and Mondrem, and to have eight under-foresters and two garçons distributed over the villages in the forest.

He claimed the latter pannage, windfallen wood, half the bark of all fallen oaks; all sparhawks, merlins, and hobbys found within the forest; all swarms of bees, the right shoulder of every deer taken, and all but the horns and sides of stricken deer found dead in the forest, besides waifs and strayed beasts. He claimed to have all money for agistment of hogs from the feast of St. Martin to Christmas. Under the name of pelf he claimed, when the lord's venison should be found within any man's house, the best of the beasts and of the household stuff, the residue being forfeited to the lord.

But the chief claim and the one most burdensome to the dwellers within the forest was that of puture. This was claimed of every one holding more than a certain quantity of land. Two under-foresters and one garçon were to be provided with supper, lodging for one night, and breakfast next morning. They would then pass on to another house, and making the circuit of their district would come again to the same house after an interval of six weeks.

THE COOMBES.

The Coombes in Macclesfield Forest are sometimes referred to in connection with tenures. Thus lands in Sutton were held by the service of finding one hunter to follow the dogs of the earl in his chase in "les Coumbes" within the forest of Macclesfield. The holder of the manor of Cheadle was under the obligation of making his portion of the hay (fence) around the chase in the Coombes. The vil of Chelford was granted subject to the service of repairs of the hays in Macclesfield Forest. And the manor of Bolyn at Wilmslow was held subject to the service of finding thirty-three men for the making fast "les Coumbes" within the forest of Macclesfield whenever the king hunted there, and the making of seventy-two and a half rods of hedge in the said Coumbes. Cheadle, Chelford, and Wilmslow are, it will be noted, all outside the forest bounds.

Ormerod does not tell us exactly where or what the Coombes were. He says they were probably earthworks or a kind of forest pale constructed for a retiring place in case of danger, and were probably situated near the Chamber of the forest. He might have been a little more definite as to locality, for there is, I find, a place called Coombes, not far from Forest Chapel, lying, as its name implies, in a hollow of the hills. But he is wrong, I

think, in regarding it as a retiring place in case of danger. According to the custom of hunting in Norman times, the game was driven into an enclosure by a crowd of beaters raised by the conditions of land tenure from all the surrounding district (see Cambridge Antiquarian Society, x. 284). So early as the tenth century, as we find from a law tract of the period quoted in Social England (vol. i., p. 126), the thane's duty included, at the king's summons, the maintaining of a deer fence for the king's vill; the geneat or peasant's duty included the hewing of deer fences and keeping up hedges; and the cottar's duty included, if summoned so to do, making the king's deer fence. This accords with what we find here. We have seen that there are by the conditions of tenure fences or hedges provided for, to be remade or repaired whenever the earl comes to hunt, and men are to be found to make them fast, or perhaps the meaning is to guard them (pro stabilitate facienda). The lie of the ground in a natural coombe would facilitate capture, and so there is a reason for choosing this particular spot, which seems perfectly adapted for the purpose.

The Chamber in the forest just referred to was, no doubt, a hunting-box or lodge for the forester. It is named in Saxton's map of 1579 and mentioned by Webb. The present ordnance map shows "Old Chamber," now a farm house, close to Forest Chapel, and between it and the Coombes.

We can imagine the liveliness of the scene on these now lonely moors on a day when the earl hunted—the hurrying to and fro of forester and seneschal, each full, no doubt, of self-importance; the gathering, perhaps, of fair ladies safely placed in the Chamber commanding a view of the Coombes; the careful disposing of the tenantry and their serving-men behind the fences; the baying of the hounds, now distant, now near, as the hunt progresses in other parts of the forest; the excitement as the stag is at last seen to approach; the anxiety lest it should be allowed to slip, to the high displeasure of the earl; and the final triumph as it is forced to enter the Coombes, there to see every means of escape cut off and its doom sealed. So fared it in the good old times, now dead!

EXEMPTIONS AND PRIVILEGES.

In course of time many exemptions from the rigour of the forest exactions were granted. The Church, as we might expect, was foremost in claims of this kind. Thus, the manor of Tarvin, which included the townships of Kelsall and Hockenhull, was in the hands of the bishops of Coventry and Lichfield, and by means of ecclesiastical privilege obtained exemption from the control of the foresters of Delamere. So also Irby, Sutton, Eastham, and Bromborough, four manors held by the abbey of St. Werburgh, were exempted from puture, though situate within the forest of Wirral. The same abbey obtained a charter from Edward I. giving them a part of the venison from Delamere, and afterwards a mandate to the forester to allow them to take deer to a certain extent themselves. Burton in Wirral, as part of the possessions of the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield, enjoyed immunity from the lawing of dogs jure ecclesia, though not apparently from puture. The prior of Birkenhead claimed to be exempt from puture to a certain extent, though not wholly, and also to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the foresters, when not taken in the fact. In the reign of Edward I. he successfully applied for permission to enclose thirty acres of forest land. And

the foundation charter of Vale Royal disafforested the manors of Weaverham and Over, which hitherto had been part of the forest of Mara, they being within the liberties of the abbot.

The borough of Frodsham, with Overton, Netherton, Bradley, Mukesdale, and Woodhouses, was also excepted.

In some other cases we have instances of puture being released, wholly or in part, as at Wallasey and Little Stanney in Wirral, Rushton and Eaton in Mara.

Liberty of assarting or enclosing was claimed at Poulton (Polton) and Seacombe (Secum), and at Haswall (Haselwall). A right to enclose and cultivate the wastes in North Rode was granted in the thirteenth year of Edward II. and in the same year a similar right was granted in regard to Ashton, in the forest of Mara, as well as a right of pasture.

Another privilege was the grant of timber for various purposes. Here again the Church is to the fore. The Charter of Vale Royal gave the monks the privilege of carrying wood from the forest for fuel and necessary repairs, and on its being disputed a precept was obtained confirming the privilege. Later on, in the first year of Henry VII., the then abbot obtained a mandate for the delivery to him of eight oaks for the repairs of his monastery. The forester was directed at various times to supply oaks for the repairs of the college at Bunbury, of Chester Castle, the Dee Mills, Frodsham Bridge, Stanford Bridge, Northwich Bridge, "the Hall of Pleas" and common oven at Middlewich, and the highway at Holmstreet. At Yeardsley-cum-Whaley, Wm. Jouderell, for the repair of his house in 1357, obtained a grant of two oaks out of the forest of Macclesfield; and John de Macclesfield in 1398 petitioned for a grant of six oaks from the wood of Lyme for his mansion in Macclesfield.*

THE DISAFFORESTING.

Wirral was disafforested early. Ormerod gives the date as most probably the last year of the reign of Edward III., but, according to Sulley, it was somewhat later. The forest had become a shelter for outlaws and marauders, and as its confines came very close to Chester it had become dangerous to the peace of that city. Petition was made to the Black Prince whilst earl, and at last a royal order was granted for disafforesting. The forester (William de Stanlegh) put in a claim for compensation, estimating the annual income he would lose at £40 yearly (equivalent it is said to at least £500 of present money), and was awarded an annuity of twenty marks. Upon this he made a quitclaim of putures and other rights. The annuity was irregularly paid, and several times down to the time of Henry VI. he and his descendants had to petition for payment.† With the disafforesting the office of forester naturally came to an end, but the title was retained by the Stanleys for many vears in connection with their estates in Storeton. In the Inquisition post mortem of William de Stanley, 1397, "the late forest" is referred to, showing that it had then come to an end, but in the similar inquisition in 1427 of Sir William de Stanley, he is found to have held "the bailywick of the forest of Wirral." In 1511 we again find a reference to the office of master forester of Wirral, and thirty-five years later to the "bailiwick or forestership

^{*} Recog. Rolls. † Sulley's Wirral, p. 9.

of the forest in the hundred of Wirral." The office, however, was then purely titular.

With regard to Delamere, allusion has already been made to the exemptions of portions of the forest lands, and the grants of liberty to assart or enclose other portions, and there must have been as time went on more of these. The old pale was enclosed by virtue of a precept directed to John Done in 1237, commanding him to make a chamber in the forest for the preservation of vert and venison. In 1337 Edward Prince of Wales directed a warrant to Richard Donne, forester, to build a certain chamber in the forest, forty feet long and twenty feet broad and two storeys high, for the convenience of the foresters, the prince having been informed that great damage had accrued to the vert and venison of the forest owing to the distance from it of the foresters' dwellings. And in 1403-4 there was a writ to the forester to expel all dogs and pigs from the forest, the game in which was much injured by the coursing of the former and the grubbing up of the earth by the latter.* King James I. hunted in the forest in August, 1617. Webb remarks that upon the highest hill of all and about the midst of the forest is seen a very delicate house, sufficient for the dwelling of the chief forester himself when it pleaseth him, and is called the chamber in the forest; there being likewise, in the several parts dispersed on every side of the forest, pretty and handsome lodgings for the keepers. Webb describes the forest as a very delectable place for situation, maintaining not only a convenient being and preservation for his majesty's deer, both red and fallow, whereof there is no small store, but also a great relief to the neighbouring borders and townships round about it; yielding plenty of

^{*} Recog. Rolls.

pasture in the vales, wood upon the hills, fern and heath, of some called ling, in the plains; great store of fish and fowl in the meres, and so on. There was, however, another side. Leland had remarked that he saw in the forest but little corn, because of the deer. These latter were a serious nuisance to what was now becoming a cultivated district. In the year 1626 there seems to have been a proposal to make a general inclosure, judging from the tone of a letter from Sir John Done to the Commissioners of the Forests, giving a particular of the profits appertaining to his office of forester or bailiff. Probably something in this direction was then done. At any rate, by 1812, the forest had shrunk to the area coloured green on the map. This appears to have been entirely in Mara, so Mondrem must have been wholly relinquished before that date.

By an Act of Parliament passed in 1812 two commissioners were appointed for allotting the waste lands of the forest, upon which the lands within the boundary were to become disafforested and all forestral rights and jurisdictions were to cease, saving to John Arden, esquire, who had inherited the rights of the Dones, the titles of chief forester, bowbearer, and forest bailiff. These titles were afterwards transmitted to the Earl of Haddington as heir of the families of Done and Arden, ending in Pepper-Arden, Lord Alvanley. In his possession still remains the original horn by tenure of which the office or rather the estate of Kingsley was held. It is figured in Ormerod, ii. 112. A share of the disafforested land was by the Act allotted to the king to be kept as a nursery for timber only under the direction of the Surveyor General of Woods and Forests.

In Macclesfield Forest we find the same process of gradual contraction of the forest area going on for centuries until finally nothing is left. We have seen that Marple, Wibbersley, Taxal, Sutton and Disley, and other smaller places were granted to the subordinate hereditary foresters at an early period. In the reign of Richard II. Lyme Handley was likewise granted away, and in the reign of Henry VI. Saltersford, Harrop, Toddescliff, Wildbourclough, Midgeley, and Shutlings Low.* Many of the townships in the forest are held by copyhold tenure and the copyhold interests must necessarily have come into existence by the time of Richard II. No doubt these grants and others were made with a reservation of the earl's rights of forest, but the latter, if little used, would tend to become shadowy, while actual possession would strengthen and confirm the grantees' ownership. Sometimes, too, the owner in possession would obtain, as at North Rode in the reign of Edward II., a grant of the right to enclose and cultivate the wastes, as a consequence of which they were practically excluded from the forest area. Thus, in one way or another, the forest was continually contracting. We are told that down to the time of Charles I. herds of deer ranged at will over the moorlands, and that immediately prior to the Civil War in 1642 about two hundred head were kept there for the use of the king. After the Restoration, however, the rest of the forest lands were granted away and enclosed.† Probably the last to go were those comprised in the township called Macclesfield Forest, the kernel of the whole, which contained the Old Chamber, the Forest Chapel, and the Coombes. When the last were gone the forest necessarily ceased to exist. The Swanimote Court was no longer held, and, though the Halmote Court still sits,

^{*} Earwaker, East Cheshire, ii. 456. † Ibid, ii. 5.

it is as the court baron for the manor, not to administer forest law, but for surrenders and admittances of copyholds, as in other estates which have never formed part of any forest.

The forests of Cheshire are thus become nothing but a memory, but it is a memory which will long endure, perpetuated as it is by the continued association of certain Cheshire places with the name of forest, a name redolent of romance and the olden time, and one to which some of our best literature has given an undying charm.

THE CHASES.

Of chases, properly so called, there seem to have been but few in Cheshire. The so-called forest of Coole, or Couhul, was formed by William Malbedeng, baron of Nantwich, soon after the Conquest. It is mentioned in the charters of Hugh and William Malbank to the abbey of Combernere, but little else seems to be known of it.

ULLERSFORD, otherwise Ullerswood, is mentioned as a chase belonging to Hamo de Masci. It is situated by the Bollin, near Castle Mill.

HALTON, the seat of a barony, and afterwards belonging to the duchy of Lancaster, may originally have been a chase, but as it is generally described as a park in the duchy records, I have placed it under that head.

DEER PARKS.

Cheshire, "the seed plot of gentility," is well supplied with parks. Smith, writing in the reign of Elizabeth, notices the "great store of parks, for every gentleman almost hath his own park." But a modern park does not necessarily imply deer. And, as Ormerod observes, "the number of those imparked by licence, in which the vert, venison, and enclosure have been uninterruptedly maintained, is extremely limited." The parks in the county come under several classes:—

I. Those which remained in the hands of the earl.

Shotwick Park environed a castle situate on the northern bank of the Dee, a few miles below Chester. The castle and park were held for the earl by a succession of keepers. The first we hear of is Fulk de Orreby, justiciary of Chester, who, in 1256, when Prince Edward (afterwards King Edward I.) made his first progress through Cheshire, received the charge of the castle as one of the chief strongholds of the palatinate.* We have the names of the keepers or parkers in 1328, 1351, 1386, and 1396, and the succession was kept up till the reign of Mary, when the office, with the manor, the parker's house, and the fishery in the Dee, was granted on lease, which in the time of Charles II. was converted into a freehold, and so the park became the private property of Sir Thomas Wilbraham.

Adjoining Shotwick was the royal wood of Saughall, which at an early date was granted so as to attach to the office of park-keeper. It was ultimately included in the lease and freehold grant just mentioned. We have the names of the wardens, woodwards, or park-keepers (probably various names for the same office) in the reign of Richard II., and in 1439-40, 1462, and 1483-4. Timber was regularly supplied out of the park and wood to the prioress and nuns at Chester for fuel and to repair their

^{*} Sulley, 117.

houses and church. Oaks and other timber were also supplied for the repair of a certain Floddeyard in the water of Dee, and to repair the mills of Dee, "no timber being found fit for the purpose but in the said park and wood of Saughall."*

Webb (temp. James I.) speaks of "that gallant park called Shotwick park . . . in which is also a fine lodge for the habitation of the keeper of the Prince's Highness' deer in that park." "Shotwick lodge," says Ormerod, "is a common farm house and the estate has long been disparked."

That Shotwick Park is to this day extra-parochial is due, as in the case of Toxteth Park in Lancashire, to its having been a park.

MACCLESFIELD PARK was another belonging to the earl. It is supposed to have been near Park Lane, lying to the south-west of the town between the roads to Knutsford and Congleton. Names are given of the seneschal in 1287 (Hugh de Cressingham) and keepers of the park in 1357 (William de Chorlegh), 1384 (John de Legh), and 1386 (the Earl of Stafford). The grant of the office to William de Chorleigh was for life, and was for service in Gascony. With it he had 40s. per annum and one robe or 10s.

The agistment of the park was let in 1352 to William, son of William del Downes. "In 139% John (afterwards Sir John) Savage and Piers Legh of Lyme were appointed keepers." To the former "in 1408 was let for twenty years the herbage and pasturage." "In 1439 he and his son and heir, John Savage, were appointed keepers for their lives, and from this time the office remained in the family for many generations." Ultimately the park

^{*} Sulley, 118.

appears to have been purchased by them, and from them it passed in the eighteenth century to the Cholmondeleys, who sold it by auction in numerous lots in 1787.*

At Peckforton a park existed in very early times, which appears to have been held by the earl, probably as an appurtenance of the forest of Delamere. The plea and recognisance rolls contain appointments of parkers in 1330, 1358, 1359, and 1361, and a surveyor of the woods of Peckforton was appointed in 1503. Six oaks out of "Pekforton" Park had been granted by the Black Prince to John de Overton in reward of his services in the wars of Acquitain, but were afterwards ordered to be taken from Delamere Forest instead.

II. Those as to which there is evidence of licence to impark.

COMBERMERE.—The confirmation by Randle Gernons, earl of Chester, includes acquittance from puture, &c., and works in parks or castles, from which we may infer that a park was tacitly, if not expressly, authorised. Webb mentions a park as existing in his time.

Doddington.—In 1364 John de Delves "had licence to embattle his mansion house of Doddington," and this would probably be followed by the enclosing of a park. There is now an extensive park, containing both red and fallow deer.

LYME.—The grant of the lands of Handley in Macclesfield Forest to Piers Leigh and his wife, in fulfilment of a promise made to the latter's father, Sir Thomas Danyers, in recognition of his services at Crescy, was made in 1397. Being situate on the limes or borders of Cheshire, the

^{*} Earwaker, ii. 477, 479.

name Lyme was prefixed to Handley, and in course of time has almost superseded it. From a description in 1466, it appears that there was then "a fair park, surrounded by palings and divers fields and hays (hedged inclosures) contained in the same park, with the woods, underwoods, meadows, feedings, and pastures thereunto belonging," but there is no mention of any deer.* "Sir Peter Legh in 1567 had licence to impark his lands of Lyme and to have free warren there." "The park seems then to have been well stocked with deer." Webb describes it as a "large and spacious park, richly stored with red and fallow deer." "In the eighteenth century the custom was observed of driving the deer round the park, about midsummer or rather earlier, collecting them in a body before the house, and then swimming them through the pool of water." An account of the custom is given by Earwaker, and "there is a large print of it by Vivares, after a painting by T. Smith, representing Lyme Park during the performance of the annual ceremony."

BIDSTON.—"In 1407, Mathew de Litherlond, John de Leylond, chaplain, and Thomas de More of Lyverpole" (all, be it observed, Lancashire men), who appear to have been feoffees to uses, in other words trustees, of the Stanleys of Latham and Knowsley, "petitioned to be allowed" "to enclose and make a park of 80 acres of their demesne adjacent to their manor of Bidston, Moreton le Forde, and Salgham Masey in Wyrehale." "On an inquisition ad quod damnum it was found that no damage or prejudice would accrue to the Earl of Chester or any others by allowing the imparkment," and so a licence was issued. Webb notes that at Bidston was a goodly house,

^{*} Earwaker, ii. 293.

demesne, and park of the Right Honourable William, Earl of Derby.

TARVIN has already been mentioned as exempted from the control of the foresters of Delamere, being in the hands of the bishops of Coventry and Lichfield. In 1298 the then bishop obtained a licence to impark his wood of Tarvin.

ADLINGTON.—"Robert Legh had licence in 1462 to impark his woods of Whytelygh-hay and Adlyngton, and a place called Whyteleghgreve, which remained as a park until the end of the 18th century when it was discontinued, 'as it lay too far away from the family seat,' and the old park near the hall, which in the meantime had become disused, was again regularly imparked." The licence referred to was set up in 1499 in answer to a quo warranto, and under it Thomas Legh claimed to have a park at Whiteleyhey. Webb states that the then owner, Sir Urian Legh, had a park and chapel to the stately and commodious house he had made. Shirley, in his English Deer Parks, is evidently in error when he says, "If a park existed here it had probably been disused before Saxton's time." It is sometimes dangerous to infer a negative from the mere absence of an item from a map, especially an early one.

BOLYN PARK, Wilmslow, is referred to in several ancient documents, and, says Ormerod, certainly existed about the year 1330. It is shown in Saxton's map. Webb refers to the fair house and park, called Bollin Park, of Sir George Booth's, knight and baronet.

At SAIGHTON a park was intended. "The Abbot of St. Werburgh had in the reign of Henry III. obtained a charter of free warren in Saighton, Huntinton, and Cheveley. From Richard II. he obtained licence to fortify his manor-house of Saighton. Finally, from Henry

VIII. he had licence to make a park of one thousand acres, but it came too late, for "this project was most probably put a stop to by the Reformation."

Sutton, near Macclesfield, was one of the estates held by the subordinate hereditary foresters by serjeanty, and a forester's lodge is recorded to have existed there, A.D. 1478. In 1516 John Sutton obtained licence from Henry VIII. to impark his lands in Sutton within the forest, extending in width from the town of Gawsworth to Macclesfield Mill, and in length to Langley and round to Gawsworth.* This would cover an extensive tract, and was probably only partially carried out, though "Sutton Hall is yet environed with stately trees in a small park."

III. Parks as to which there is no record of a licence or other authority to impark, but which have, in fact, contained deer.

POYNTON.—"At Poynton," says Leland, "is a park." "Sir Edward Warren about 1548 built a new house in the park of Poynton, and Webb mentions the house as having 'a fair park lying to it.'" In the reign of Queen Anne a claim was made on the owner for one buck and one doe yearly for tithes in kind, but apparently not sustained. The present park is said by Earwaker to have been made by Sir George Warren round the house he erected about 1750.

HALTON.—This was an appanage of the duchy of Lancaster, and is traditionally said to have been a favourite hunting seat of the great John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Piers Warburton was seneschal of Halton down to his death in 1495. There is extant a letter to him from Sir

^{*} Earwaker, ii. 440.

William Stanley, of Bosworth fame, regretting he was too busy to come as promised and kill a buck with his hounds. There was a suit in the duchy court respecting the herbage and pannage of Halton Park in 1521. In August, 1617, King James I. visited Halton and hunted and killed a buck in the park.*

Wythenshawe.—The hay (or deer fence) of Wythenshawe is referred to in a charter without date, and, therefore, before the year 1300.†

CALVELEY.—"In the park and paddock adjacent to the house were lately kept," says Ormerod, "70 head of deer, which were reduced in 1813 to 23."

Oulton.—"The park is enclosed by a wall built in 1752, and contained 300 head of deer and other cattle.";

DUNHAM.—This is mentioned by Leland as "a fair park," and is shown in Saxton's map. It supports four hundred to five hundred head of deer, or did when Shirley wrote (1867).

TATTON.—The park is mentioned by Leland and shown in Speed's map, and an anecdote is related by Leycester of a fine being inflicted for chasing and destroying the deer in the reign of Henry VI. The park is one of the largest in the country, and, according to Shirley, contained in 1867 eight hundred fallow and forty red deer.

EATON PARK.—This was stocked with deer as far back at any rate as the year 1714, as appears by Kip's Views of Seats at that period.§

Cholmondeley contains, according to Shirley, about two hundred fallow deer.

CARDEN.—An existing deer park.

^{*} Chester Arch. Soc., ii. 16-18.

[†] Earwaker, East Cheshive, i. 269.

[‡]Shirley, 204. § Ibid

IV. Parks in regard to which there is no mention of deer, which fact, however, is not conclusive that there were none.

KNUTSFORD.—"Le of Booth half a mile from Knutsford hath a park," says Leland.

Warburton.—Shown in Saxton's map. The hall has long ceased to be the family residence. Its moated site lies to the east side of the church and village, and the adjacent field retains the name of Warburton Park.

TABLEY.—A park is mentioned by Leland.

PEEL IN ETCHELLS.—"The Parke of Peele" is conveyed with other lands by a deed dated in 44 Elizabeth.

BOTHAM'S HALL (Hattersley), "which," says Webb, "hath anciently had a park in it."

STOCKPORT.—There was a park belonging to the Baron of Stockport about A.D. 1200.*

Bramhall.—"To which house," says Webb, "lies a park and all things fit for a worshipful seat." The park is shown in Saxton's map.

STYPERSON PARK, in Adlington, is referred to in Leigh's Natural History of Lancashire and Cheshire (1700), but the allusion in it is to sheep and not to deer. †

ALDERLEY PARK.—Existing in 1423.‡

SWANSCOE PARK.—Existing before 1623.§

GAWSWORTH.—Shown in Saxton's map.

Brereton.—"The ancient park" is referred to by Ormerod.

KERMINCHAM.—There was once a park here.

^{*} Earwaker, i. 334.

[†] Ibid, ii. 332. † Ibid, ii. 609.

[§] Ibid, ii. 454.

^{||} Chester Archæological Society, ii. 157.

COOLE OR COOLE PILOT.—The chase formerly existing here has been already referred to. The Park and the Little Park are referred to in a document of the time of Richard II.

BADDELEY, near Nantwich.—A park is mentioned by Leland.

WRENBURY.—Of this Leland says distinctly that there are no deer. "A park full of marvellous fair wood, but no deer."

RIDLEY, near Peckforton.—"A very large park," according to Leland.

TITLEY.—"The Needhams had a park here in 1666, as appears by an entry in a villare of that date."

DARNHALL.—This place, at which the monks of Vale Royal were first seated, was afterwards retained by them as a grange and park. Ormerod mentions that "in the Leger Book is a charge for ditching and hedging the Park of Dernhall."

Dutton.—Shown in Saxton's map. Leycester refers to the park of Dutton.

ASTON.—Shown in Saxton's map.

ROCKSAVAGE.—"An ancient park in Clifton, called Clifton Park, alias Rock Savage Parke," is named in the inquisition post mortem in 1636 of Thomas, viscount Savage. It has long been disparked.*

Pool.—King speaks of the park belonging to the fair ancient seat of Pool adjoining Hooton.

HOOTON.—Shown in Saxton's map. Webb speaks of a goodly ancient manor and fair park which ever since the reign of King Richard II. hath been the seat of the Stanleys of Hooton.

PUDDINGTON.—Shown in Saxton's map.

^{*} Earwaker, East Cheshire, i. 192.

Neston or Leighton.—Shown in Saxton's map. From this park the adjacent town of Parkgate took its name. Stapleforde.—Held by Sir Wm. Brereton, 1486.

According to Shirley, whose book was published in 1867, the only then existing deer parks in Cheshire were those of Lyme, Dunham, Tatton, Oulton, Eaton, Cholmondeley, Doddington, and Carden. He has omitted Adlington, and perhaps one or two more. It is scarcely likely that there have since been any additions.





ASHWORTH CHAPEL.

BY HENRY FISHWICK, F.S.A.

A SHWORTH forms part of the parish of Middleton, and may at some remote period have been a small manor, but actual proof of this is wanting.

In the time of Henry II. (probably shortly before 1183-4) Roger de Middleton, son of Alexander, enfeoffed Geoffry, son of Robert, dean of Whalley, of the township of Ashworth, part of the manor of Middleton during the life of Robert, the dean.* The early descent of the manor of Middleton has been already dealt with by Mr. William Farrer in the seventeenth volume of the Society's Transactions, and it is unnecessary to say more, except that the portion forming the chapelry or parish of Ashworth passed by marriage to Hugh, son of John del Holt, in whose family it remained until 12th August, 1700, when it was sold to Samuel Hallows, of Gray's Inn, Middlesex, esquire, for the sum of £3,960, and an annuity of £25, payable to the vendor. It is called in the deed of conveyance "the reputed manor or lordship." The estate afterwards passed to John Hatfield, nephew of S. Hallows and son of John Hatfield, of Hatfield, Yorkshire, gentleman, and by him sold in 1751 to Thomas

Ferrand, of Rochdale, gentleman, who in 1767 conveyed it to Samuel Egerton, of Tatton Park, esquire. The present owner is Earl Egerton of Tatton.*

The exact date of the erection or foundation of the chapel at Ashworth is unknown. Its distance from Ashworth Hall, the ancestral home of a branch of the Holt family, would preclude the idea of its having originally been a private domestic chapel. It was probably built by the Holts for the use of their tenants.

In 1522, amongst the Holt family records, occurs more than once the name of "Sir Thomas Holt, capellanus," and it may be assumed that he officiated at Ashworth. He was the son of Richard Holt, and his wife Margaret, daughter of James Chetham, of Nuthurst.

The Inventory of Church Goods, taken by order of Edward VI. in 1552, furnishes the following details: "In a chapell belonging to the said piche [Middleton] called Assheworthe one vestimēt w^t albe & amesse for the same. A chalece w^t paten of sylū." The Chantry Commissioners a year later refer to a parcel-gilt chalice, weighing six ounces, belonging to this chapel.

The inquisition *post mortem* of Robert Holt, of Ashworth, was taken in 1560, and he is stated to have a tenement called Ashworth Hall, and mention is made of a Thomas Holt, capellanus, who may have been the priest doing duty at the chapel. The will of this Robert (dated 6th November, 1559) was proved at Chester, and in it he bequeathes 6^s 8^d. "to ye sustentacon of Asheworth chappel, to be paid when the church Ryves require it."

For the next fifty years little is known of the history of the chapel, but from 1614 to the present time we have an almost complete list of curates.

^{*} Title Deeds.

In 1626 one of the curates* claimed lands in Healey as belonging to the incumbency, but in 1650 the Commonwealth Survey shows that there was then no maintenance, and for the time being no ministers. The commissioners recommended that the chapel should be made into a parish church, and they gave a list of certain houses in Ashworth, Birtle, Bamford, and Rochdale, which they thought ought to be included in the parish.

Richard Whitehead, of Pilsworth, in the parish of Bury, gentleman, by indenture dated 6th December, 1671, created a rent charge of £6 a year on a house, called Wallbank, near Whitworth, in Rochdale parish, half of which was to be paid to the curate of Ashworth Chapel. Samuel Hallows, not long after he purchased the Ashworth estates, made a claim to the chapel as a domestic chapel, and a letter was written to the bishop in which the writer expresses a fear that it was in danger of being "perverted to a conventicle." † This claim was apparently relinquished, as in 1737 the claimant gave a sum of £200 to meet a similar sum for Queen Anne's bounty. Notwithstanding this gift, the donor does not appear to have been a popular patron if we accept the evidence of a contemporary, who writes: "1740, January 21st. This day died Mr. Sam. Hallows, of Ashworth, to the great joy of all his neighbours." Bishop Gaskell reports that the Holt family had always allowed £4 a year to the chapel, which was increased to £20 or £30 by a grant from "the vicarage" [? Middleton Rectory]. He also adds that in 1672 there was a churchwarden

^{*}Letter from Henry Prescott, of Chester, dated 9th November, 1717. Chet. Soc., xix. 104.

[†] Diary of John Starkey, of Heywood. Chet. Soc., xix. 104.

appointed, and that in 1706 the chapel was on the hands of Dissenters. In a list of rents in 1757 is the item: "Advowson of ye free chapel of Ashworth worth £50 a year. £30 in land and £20 in seats or pews."*

In the registers of baptism in 1789 is the following entry: "31st August to 18th October. No entries of baptisms, but note, during the interruption of the entries of baptisms the original chapel (with the exception of the chancel) is supposed to have been rebuilt." This is the building which Dr. Drake, on the occasion of his rural decanal visit in 1813, reported as being "of brick, neat, and in good repair," and he also reported that the chapel yard was "commodious and proper." The only bit of the original edifice left in 1837 was the chancel, which by the enlargement made in that year was swept away, and one hundred and ten additional seats were provided.

The church as it now stands is a plain, rectangular building, without any attempt at architectural ornamentation. A new organ was erected in the gallery in 1841, which has recently been enlarged, and removed to the east end of the church. The old bell was removed in 1895 and a peal of eight bells set up. The church is dedicated to St. James. The living became a vicarage under Lord Blandford's Act. The Registers preserved at Ashworth Chapel commence in 1741 with baptisms and marriages in 1778. The earlier Registers, it is said, were used to light the stove fire with some years ago. The transcripts at Chester only begin in 1813. The church plate consists of a silver chalice and paten, on which are engraved the Egerton arms and the date 1808.

^{*} Raines's MSS., vol. xi.

CURATES OF ASHWORTH.

JOHN ASHWORTH appears as curate here from 1614 to 1622. He was the son of the Rev. John Ashworth, vicar of Bolton-le-Sands and rector of Warrington. He was curate of Rochdale Parish Church in 1602, and afterwards curate of Milnrow, and for a short time head master of the Rochdale Grammar School. He died in 1617,* and was buried at Rochdale on 1st July.

RICHARD WALKER was also head master of the Grammar School from 1622 to 1625, during which period he held the curacy of Ashworth. He was buried at Rochdale 4th December, 1625.†

HUGH BROOKS, in a contemporary deed, is described in 1626 as "Vicar of Ashworth," and claimed land in Healey as belonging to the living.‡

Mr. Ramsbottom.—At the meeting of the Bury Presbyterian Classis, held at Preston, 12th August, 1647, "Mr. Ramsbottom, of Ashworth," was summoned to appear at the next meeting, which was held at Bury, 10th February, 1647-8, and at which he appeared and was ordered to obtain a certificate from the Manchester Classis "of his good conversation heretofore during his aboade in those pts."§ From this it would appear that he had not been very long acting as minister at Ashworth, and he did not at once obtain the full approval of the classis. On 11th May, 1648, he preached before them, and it was decided to give him "his approbation" at the

^{*} Raines's MSS., vol. xi., and History of Rochdale, p. 208.

[†] Raines's MSS., vol. xi., and History of Rochdale, p. 273.

[‡] Raines's MSS., vol. xi., and History of Rochdale.

[§] Chet. Soc., vol. xxxvi., n.s., pp. 51-2.

next meeting "nothing being alledged agt. him." Accordingly on 5th July following, as nothing was alleged against him, he was approved, but at the same time admonished by the moderator "concerninge clandestine marriages and baptisinge of bastards."* As the Christian name is not recorded it is impossible to identify this minister. A "Mr. Ramsbottom, a preacher at Honley in Yorkshire, was buried 17th January, 1690-1."† Mr. Ramsbottom's stay at Ashworth was short as in December, 1648, it appears, owing to some dispute between him and his congregation, Henry Pendlebury occupied the pulpit, and was ordered by the classis to continue to preach there.‡

Henry Pendlebury was born at "Jokin" [Jowkin], in the parish of Bury, 6th May, 1626. He took an M.A. degree at Christ Church, Cambridge. When he was only twenty-two years of age he preached his first sermon at Ashworth Chapel, and was called upon to preach before the classis at Bury 18th January, 1648-9, and, having received encouragement, he requested to be ordained and appointed as minister to Ashworth Chapel, where a Mr. Smithurst was officiating "without a sufficient call," but who promised "to desist." Sometime before July, 1650, Henry Pendlebury gave up the cure, and the Commissioners of the Church Survey reported that he had lately officiated there, but had ceased "for want of maintenance," and no one had been found to fill his place. He was said to be "a godly orthodox minister," and

^{*} Chet. Soc., vol. xxxvi., n.s., p. 66.

[†] O. Heywood's Non-Conformist Register, p. 78.

[†] Chet. Soc., xxxvi., n.s., p. gr.

[§] Higher Jowkin, a farmhouse in Bamford, parish of Bury, is only a quarter of a mile from Ashworth Chapel, as is also Jowkin Wood.

^{||} Chet. Soc., xxxvi., n.s., p. 94.

was then conducting the services on Sundays at Horridge [Horwich] Chapel, for which he had no salary, but "onely the benevolence of the inhabitants." Up to this time Mr. Pendlebury had not been ordained, and an objection was raised as to his "clandestine" marriage (i.e., wanting consent of parents) with Sarah Smith; ultimately the classis was satisfied and, 14th November, 1650, he was ordained.

In 1651-2 he removed from Horwich and was appointed to the Chapel at Holcombe,* in the parish of Bury, from whence he was ejected in 1662. After his ejection we find traces of him at Bury and at Rochdale, where for a time he officiated at the Blackwater Street Chapel. In 1689 the Rev. Thomas Jolley preached for him in this chapel.† He died 18th June, 1695, in his seventieth year, and was buried in the churchyard of Bury. An inventory of his goods is preserved at Chester, in which he is described as of Walmersley, in the parish of Bury. The value of his goods was set down as £267. 17s. 2d. He was a man of learning and ability. He wrote the following theological works, only one of which was published during his life: ‡ "A plain Representation of the Transubstantiation as it is received in the Church of Rome," &c. London, 1687. "Invisible Realities, the real Christian's greatest Concernment," &c. London, 1696. On title-page the author is called "late minister of the Gospel at Rochdale."] "The Barren Fig Tree." London, 1700. "Sacrificium Missaticum, Mysterium Iniquitatis; or a Treatise concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass." London, 1768. "Sermons by Henry Pendlebury of Rochdale," 1711. "The Book opened," &c. London, 1811. [On the title-page the author is called "Minister of the Gospel at Rochdale."]

^{*} Chet. Soc., xxxvi., n.s., p. 128.

[†] Note-Book of Rev. Thomas Jolly, Chet. Soc., xxxiii., n.s., p. 96.

[‡] For list, see History of Rochdale, p. 252.

MR. LEIGH probably succeeded Henry Pendlebury. He certainly was here 15th March, 1651-2, when the classis ordered him "to appeare att the next meeting," and he was described as "Mr. Leigh of Ashworth." His name does appear on the minutes of the next meeting, and nothing more is known of him in connection with Ashworth.* The want of the Christian name makes it impossible to identify this minister. There was a Richard Leigh curate of Stalmine in 1641, who died or resigned before 1648.

ABRAHAM ASHWORTH, B.A., was presented to the curacy in 1665, and was still there in 1674.† Under the date of 4th September, 1668, Oliver Heywood records in his diary, "being to preach on the Lord's day at Asworth which with some difficulty I obtained for one part of the day."

George Jackson took his B.A. degree at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1674. Soon after he left the University, but certainly before 26th October, 1676, he was appointed head master of the Rochdale Grammar School, and was nominated by Richard Holt, esquire (the patron), to the curacy of Ashworth Chapel 6th July, 1695. In 1696 he gave up the head mastership, but retained his curacy until his death. He was buried at Rochdale 19th January, 1698.

RADCLIFFE SCHOLEFIELD, in 1703-4, officiated at Ashworth Chapel without licence, \$\pm\$ when the bishop's attention was drawn to the position he probably withdrew. He was the eldest son of Radcliffe Scholefield, attorney at law, Rochdale (one of the Scholfields of Scolfield Hall), and

^{*} Chet. Soc., xxxvi., n.s., p. 128. † Visitation Book, Chester. † Bishop's Register, Chester.

became a Presbyterian minister at Hall Fold Chapel, Whitworth, and of the chapel at Ringhay [Ringway] in Cheshire, where he was buried 16th August, 1724.*

JONATHAN HEATON, clerk, was nominated by Samuel Hallows, gentleman, on 9th January, 1735. Before coming to Ashworth he had for some time lived at Illingworth, near Halifax, in Yorkshire.† He only remained a short time, resigning 24th October, 1737.

PETER BLAKEY was presented to the curacy 24th October, 1737, on the resignation of the last curate. He is styled M.A. in the Bishop's Register, and his testimonials were signed by the parson of Haworth and the curate of Keighley, in Yorkshire. He was buried at Rochdale 25th October, 1771.

JOHN SUTCLIFFE was the son of Joseph Sutcliffe, of Halifax. He was baptised at Heptonstall, in the county of York, 20th January, 1748. He matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, 16th December, 1767. He was nominated to Ashworth Chapel by Samuel Egerton, of Tatton Park, 13th December, 1771. Mr. Sutcliffe died at Ashworth, and was buried inside the chapel 26th December, 1806.

WILLIAM HORTON, M.A., was the youngest son of Joshua Horton, of Howroyde, in the parish of Halifax, esquire. He was appointed curate of St. Mary's Chapel, Rochdale, in November, 1796, and to Ashworth 20th January, 1807. Wilbraham Egerton, of Tatton, the patron, in making the nomination to the latter, referred to the augmentation to the curacy which had been or was shortly to be made by Queen Anne's bounty. William Horton married a daughter of Dr. Lyon, of Liverpool, by

^{*} History of Rochdale, pp. 264, 361. † Bishop's Register, Chester.

whom he had issue. In 1814 he appointed his brother, the Rev. Joshua Thomas Horton, as his curate at Ashworth.*

In the chapel yard of St. Mary's a gravestone bears the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of the Rev. William Horton, M.A., minister of this chapel and Ashworth Chapel, who departed this life the 13th of August, 1817, aged 48 years."

THOMAS HODGSON was the son of Richard Hodgson, of Arkholme, in the parish of Melling, yeoman. He was nominated curate of Ashworth 7th October, 1817, and resigned 29th January, 1821. He was buried at Milnrow, where his brother William was curate, 25th September, 1822, aged forty-nine years.

JOSEPH SELKIRK, son of Robert Selkirk, of Beckermet, in the county of Cumberland. He was licensed to the curacy of Ashworth 7th March, 1821; he was also chaplain to the Earl of Dunmore. He married Sarah Mossop, of Gosforth, in Cumberland, and had issue an only child Anne, who married James Butterworth, of Rake Bank, Rochdale, esquire, and had issue. He was buried at Ashworth, and a tablet on the east wall is inscribed:—

Near this place
lie the remains of the
Rev. Joseph Selkirk, Incumbent of
this chapelry, and chaplain to the
Right Hon: the Earl of Dunmore.
He departed this life on the 17th
day of August, 1832, in the 12th year of his incumbency and the
36th of his age.
This tablet has been erected in token of
respect for the memory and of regrets for
his early death by a few of his hearers.
Also Sarah his wife died 3 Feb., 1857, aged 62.

^{*} Joshua Thomas Horton was a justice of the peace for the county, and lived some years in Rochdale [see *History of Rochdale*, p. 219] and was vicar of Ormskirk. He died in November, 1845, aged 55.

DAVID RATHBONE was the son of Peter Rathbone, of Gawsworth, in the county of Chester. From 1811 to 1832 he had charge of New Church in Rossendale, the incumbent being non-resident. He was nominated to Ashworth Chapel by Wilbraham Egerton, esquire, 9th November, 1832,* where he remained until his death. He died at Ashworth 10th February, 1871, aged eighty-three years. He married Eliza Ann Walker, of Accrington, and had issue: (1) David, who matriculated at Brazenose College, Oxford, 25th May, 1853. He graduated M.A. in 1860, and died the same year, aged twenty-six years. (2) Esther Ann, who married George Hartley, of Heywood, whose son, Rathbone Hartley, is the vicar of All Souls, Castleton, Rochdale.

The three-light east window bears the following inscription: "To the Glory of God, and in memory of the Rev. David Rathbone, for 38 years Incumbent of this parish, who died 10 Feb., 1871, aged 83 years. Eliza Ann Rathbone, widow of David Rathbone, Incumbent, died Nov. 1st, 1871, aged 68 years. David Rathbone, M.A., their son, died Nov. 13th, 1860, aged 26 years." Mr. Rathbone was well known in Rochdale and the surrounding district as a surrogate. A portrait of him was lithographed and published by S. O. Bailey, of Bradford. During the incumbency of Mr. Rathbone the Sunday school was built and the church enlarged by the addition of two windows at the east end. For many years he taught in the day school, being assisted by his wife and daughter.

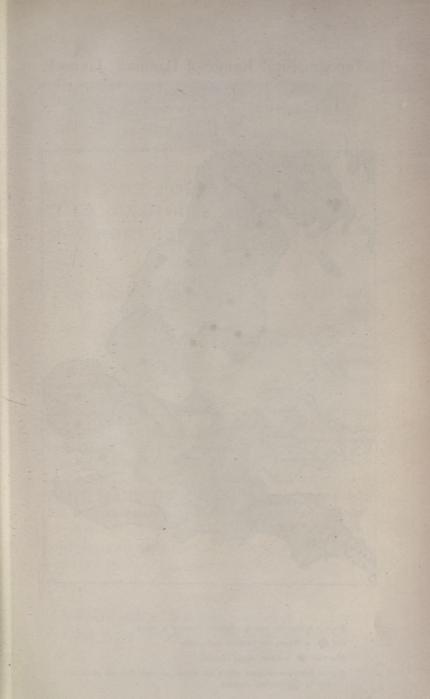
JOHN FISH was born in Co. Carlow, Ireland, in 1829.

^{*}A memorandum in the Parish Register Book of Ashworth, in Mr. Rathbone's handwriting, reads that he was appointed on the 5th November; the formal nomination, however, was dated as above.

He was the son of the Rev. John Fish, rector of Thurstaston, in the county of Chester. He graduated at the University of Dublin, B.A. 1855 and M.A. 1859. He was appointed vicar of Ashworth on the death of David Rathbone in November, 1871. He held the living until his death. He was buried at Thurstaston 1st December, 1883. He was succeeded by the present vicar,

THE REV. FRANCIS EDWIN WALDIE.





Topographical Range of Bannock, Jannock, Haver-cake.



Green = Where the adjective form of Jannock is found.

Red = Where the Jannock loaf occurs.

Blue and • = Great wheat counties.

Grey = Northern counties where the Haver-cake and Bannock prevails; also in marked counties.



NOTES ON FOOD AND DRINK IN LANCASHIRE AND OTHER NORTHERN COUNTIES.

BY CHARLES ROEDER.

THE subject of food and drink, with reference to the northern counties in earlier times, offers many points of great interest. It may be approached in a variety of ways, and viewed from the ethnological, philological, sociological, economical, and agricultural side; the difficulty lies in the great choice and the large field open to the investigator. Restricting myself to the mere indication of a few lines, suggesting rather than elaborating, I leave it to other members to pursue the work on a more satisfactory and systematic scale and basis. It has not been my object to enlarge on matters culinary of the old Lancashire towns; I have, however, added a few remarks to illustrate how Manchester lived and ate and drank during the last four hundred years. My short sketch deals mainly with the broad country population and the toilers of the soil. After these few remarks I proceed, and begin with

PORRIDGE.

Oats held such an important position in the economy and diet of the northern nations, in various forms, as an

article of food, that I must assign them the first place in my list. Already known to the people of the "Bronze Age," it is found amongst the remains of the Swiss lake dwellings. Hitherto no trace of this grain has been met with in the lake dwellings of the *north* of Italy, and it is believed that it was not cultivated in the times of the Roman republic. Neither the Greeks, Egyptians, nor Hebrews cultivated them. *Plinius the elder* (23–79 A.D.) takes no notice of its cultivation in Italy, and implies that the species was not cultivated by the Romans; he observes, in the words of Gerard,* "That in some places oats are made into bread, particularly in *Almaine*, where they are usually sown, and where they seldom have any other pottage than oatmeal gruel, which they call *Abremouz*" (= Hafermuss).

In its half wild or natural condition Avena sativa. Lin is. according to De Candolle, † more frequent from Dalmatia to Transylvania, pointing thus to eastern temperate Europe, where its cultivation radiated westwards and northwards. No soil is too poor or too cold for its cultivation, and in the colder parts of the British Islands, where the harvest is often retarded until the wet season sets in, which entirely spoils other grain, the crop is safely housed without spoiling, the husk or straw being of so dry a nature that they neither heat or become mouldy in the mow. It was the grain, par excellence, upon which the ancient Britons and Teutonic races had to rely for maintenance, and it consequently formed the chief source of their daily food. It was ground with stone querns into a coarse husky meal, and boiled with water into a pulp, which the Welsh, Manx, and Gaels now call podash, and

^{*} See Gerard's Herbal, 1636, pp. 74, 75. † See De Candolle, Origin of Cultivated Plants, 1884, p. 373.

the English pottage or porridge; it is supposed that the latter word is derived from porrum=leek, because at one time the mess was seasoned with leek and onions, in which form it was already well known and prepared by the ancient Irish. It formed "the halesome parritch, chief o' Scotland's food."

In Iceland oatmeal porridge is still an article of very general consumption,* and the hardy race of Lancashire was reared up in pap and pobbis, the usual plateful or trencher of thick tollols was served on the breakfast table, and meals were reckoned from "porritch toime to prato toime." Thick porridge was sad porritch; skilly in Derbyshire thin porridge; a slang name in Lonsdale was bull jumpings or hasty poddish; lumpy-tums, in Derbyshire, was a hasty pudding, made by dropping oatmeal, slightly squozen by the hand, into boiling water, which when taken out was eaten in milk; bishopped poddish was applied to porridge burnt in the pan. Ben Brierley speaks of "thin porritch and a tooter-botton," "porritch an' rap," and you make "a mess o' porritch." In the Fylde they talked of "a jorum o' porridge;" to thicken porridge was to thibble or lithe it; and crowdy in the North is a mess of oatmeal. In Tim Bobbin's time another way of preparing it was to let the juice of the oats get sour, when it was boiled into a thick substance; this dish was called in Lancashire and the north counties and Scotland sowins, and in the Highlands and Isle of Man cowree, and was extremely relished by the people.

The sole use of porridge, or its equivalent, to the exclusion of baked bread, has even reached into our own time, for we find that in many parts of South Austria, as

^{*}See Rob. Ferguson, The Norsemen in Cumberland and Westmorland, 1856, p. 149.

Steiermark, Carinthia, and Tyrol, the staple food of the people consists of *sterz*, a kind of porridge made of ground beech nuts, taken with fresh or curdled milk; while in the north of Italy the peasantry live chiefly on *polenta*, porridge of boiled maize; and the modern Roumanians have as their national dish *mamaliga*, made also of boiled maize.

It is only towards the middle of last century, with the gradual ascendancy and spread of tea at popular prices, that porridge slowly lost the important place it generally occupied in the northern counties as a time-honoured meal. The time and glory of the great porridge eater, or "great porridge bellie," as Cotgrave* calls him in 1611, is evidently over, and his place has been usurped by the great tea devourers of our times.

HAVER-CAKE.

From the porridge, the liquid preparation of oats, we are led almost naturally to the haver-cake, which was a great improvement upon the former, for it could be carried about, and be kept for an indefinite time in sound and wholesome condition. This innovation was, therefore, an important economical advance. The haver or aver cake was oval or round in shape and flat, and from one-eighth to one-fourth of an inch in thickness and baked on the backstone. When baked it is still in a soft state and hung up then on the bread or brade flaket to harden. It was unleavened and, as Cecilia Fiennes described it in 1697, "thin as wafers, and as large as a pancake, and so dry that it shivers." Occasionally, as in Cumberland, it

^{*} See R. Cotgrave, French-English and English-French Dictionary, folio, 1611, London.

[†] The braid flake was a corded frame hung from the ceiling for the flat oaten cakes to dry and become brittle.

was made of unleavened barley-meal and called clap-bread, for being clapped, or beaten out by the hand, when it is in the dough, in the form of large, round cakes.* In Derbyshire it also went by the name of reed bread, and a common north country and Lancashire word for it is wutcake. The earliest reference is found in Langland's Piers Plowman, 1377. He knew the haver-cake well, as a Cheshire man, and speaks of "a few cruddes and cream and an haver-cake." A thick oatcake was also called in Cumberland a haver-bannock: we read that in that county in 1725 the usual treat consisted of a thick oatcake, called haver-bannock, and butter, and almost the only bread the dalesmen took was "haver-cake and their poddish." In the Rochdale district oatcake entered largely into the diet of the country people, and they used to pride themselves in the name of "Haver-cake Lads." The Thirty-third or "Duke of Wellington's Own," now the "West Riding Regiment," gained this nickname circa 1782, because the sergeants beat up recruits with oaten cakes on the points of their swords.†

It is still baked in some of the towns of North Lancashire, and was the usual thing in Skipton, Blackburn, Preston, and the Fylde. It is a proper good old Anglo-Saxon word, and the *hafre brod* of the Norwegians and Danes, and the haferbrot of the Germans are too well known to require special notice.

Another kind of oatcake was the tharcake. It is already mentioned in the fifteenth century as panis siliginius or

^{*}The clapcake is also alluded to by Sam. Bamford in his Early Days, p. 156, 1849, where the children in Middleton sung and played:—

[&]quot;Hitch-hatch, hitch-hatch, I've a chicken under mi lap; Heer I brew, an' heer I bake, An' heer I lay mi clapcake."

[†] See Regimental Records of British Army, 1901, page 143, by Farmer.

"tharf bred." It was baked on the hearth, near the fire, which, without a grate, would be sufficiently hot. It is made of oatmeal, unleavened, and mixed with butter and treacle, and was eaten on the 5th of November: it was known in Wakefield as parkin, and used to be given in Lancashire and the Fylde, amongst Papists, to the poor, and had the additional name of Soul-mass cake.* While on this subject I may also mention the Throdkin, which was peculiar to the Fylde, and a staple dish there. Meal and water were kneaded together and afterwards placed upon a large deep plate. The cake was well pressed with the thumb upon the plate, it was cut tart-fashion, one and a half inches thick, and the surface covered with scraps of fat bacon. A similar flat cake, large and round, and baked on a tin, used to be greatly relished in middle Germany, the particular delicacy being the toasted slices of bacon with which the whole cake was profusely covered.

Salt cat was the slang for an oatcake plunged into the boiling water and then sprinkled with salt and pepper, if butter could not be afforded, and was current in Lancashire.

The back span is the baking plate for oat bread. To stir oaten dough before baking it was to elt it.

Riddle bread is called in Lonsdale the thick, sour, leavened oatcake shaken on a chequered backboard before being thrown on a backstone, and butter-sops in Cumberland, oaten (or wheaten) bread soaked in melted butter and sugar. Coming to the Scotch, Fynes Moryson, the traveller, tells us in 1617 that they eat also "harth cakes of oates." The oaten cakes and crowdy of Scotland

^{*} Ben Brierley, in his Chronicles of Waverlow, says: "Neaw lads an' wenches sixty-five next tharcake time; an' aw could doance a pair of clogs off mi feet just neaw," p. 25.

afforded the principal nourishment to the lower classes of the people before the potatoes were so general in the North.

BANNOCK.

The bannock is a thick oaten cake, kneaded into water, unleavened, of large size, round or oval form, and flattish; sometimes it was made of peasemeal. Originally it was baked in the embers, and toasted over again on a girdle before eating. In Scotland we have besides the bearbannock made of barley-meal. The dough of the bannock is more wet than the cake when it is baked and toasted on a girdle, whereas the cakes are generally toasted before the fire after having been laid for some time on a girdle or gridiron. This oatcake or skon, or skone, is thinner and broader than a bannock.

In the north of England the name bannock is sometimes given to oat or haver bread when made thicker and softer than an oatcake. At present the land of cakes and bannocks is eminently Scotland—

And there will be lang-kail and pottage
And bannocks of barley-meal.

Ritson's Scotch Songs.

But that was not always the case, and its distribution covered a much larger ground, and occupied the whole northern counties and the south-western counties of England.* If we prepare a map and colour the particular counties where the bannock at one time had its home, we find that in a striking manner it coincides with those

^{*} See Wright's English Dialect Dictionary, vol. iii., page 157, for distribution of the word: Scotland, North Ireland, Isle of Man, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, East Anglia, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Devonshire.

particular parts of England and Scotland where nothing else but oats and barley was grown.

In later times, with better cultivation in the south, the great wheat-belt which occupied the eastern counties spread more and more into the south-western counties of England, and pushed the oats and barley fairly out; while the cultivation of the latter two maintained their ground in the northern counties, and much more so, of course, in Scotland.

There cannot be any doubt that at a remote period the bannock must have been as well known and popular in South-west England and the whole northern counties as it is now in Scotland.

The first mention of the word occurs in 1000,* when it is spelled bannuc. Again, in 1483, we find bannok with its Latin equivalent panis subcinericius; 1562, bannocks "hastely baked upon ye harth" (Turner's Herbal), and in 1630 J. Taylor, the water poet, speaks of the "Bannacks in North Britaine."

The Irish, Gaels, and Manx call it bonnag, bannach, and bannag, and bonnag coirce (= oatcake), from which it appears that the original meaning was a cake (Irish=buna and bunna). In all probability the bannock is an old British name, and afterwards adopted by the Anglo-Saxons, which corresponded partly to the Anglo-Saxon haver-cake. We know that the ancient Irish had already their oatmeal and barley-meal cakes, which were unleavened; the meal mixed with sweet milk or butter-milk and fashioned into flat cakes.† In the Western Hebrides in 1793‡ the people made their cakes of barley-meal toasted against a stone placed upright before a good fire,

^{*} See Murray's English Dictionary, page 658.

[†] See Appendix.

[‡] Ibid.

and sometimes, when in a haste, laid on the ashes. It is interesting to notice that in Scotland, the Highlands, the outer islands, and in ancient Ireland the bannocks where *originally* made of barley, and perhaps *considerably later* of oats also. In Cumberland and Westmorland cakes made of barley and called flat bread, similar to the *flad brod* of Norway, says Ferguson, are still in general use.*

The cultivation of barley is much older than that of oats, and the former was already familiarly known in the "Stone Age" and found in the remains of the lake dwellings of Switzerland, Italy, Savoy. At Wangent "actual baked bread or cake made of the crushed corn was found, flat and round in shape, one to one and a half inches in diameter; the dough consisting not of meal, but of grains of corn more or less crushed, with the barley plainly discernible. The under side of these cakes is sometimes flat, sometimes concave, and there appears no doubt that the mass of dough was baked on hot stones and covered over with glowing ashes. The grains were also found roasted and coarsely ground between stones." We also know that in the "Bronze Age" they cut the ear of the barley, &c., rather high on the stalk, and the same custom continued in ancient Ireland and even, according to Professor Thorold Rogers, t in England in the fourteenth century.

We see to what remote times the bannock leads us back. In its crude preparation, as practised only three hundred or four hundred years ago in Scotland and other parts, we cannot discover any difference or deviation from the method of baking the barley-cake of the "Stone

^{*} See The Norsemen in Cumberland and Westmorland, p. 149.

[†] See Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. iii., p. 250.

See Professor Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture and Prices, vol. i., p. 16.

Age;" the bannock is a direct descendant of that period, and extremely old in Great Britain and Ireland. The barley has also been found in the remains of the prehistoric pile-village, near Glastonbury, associated with stone querns and hearths. There it is proved to have been grown two hundred to three hundred years before the Christian era.

In the Fylde the bannock lingered on much longer than anywhere else in Lancashire. We are, indeed, struck with the conservative habits in "food and drink" of western Lancashire, which partook so much of the Lowland Scottish or Northumbrian type.

A few words about Wheat. It was not much grown in the northern counties or in Lancashire, and wheaten bread always remained a great luxury of the more well-to-do classes. It is interesting to note that in the granaries of the Roman stations at Ribchester and Wilderspool the charred grains of wheat and a little barley amongst, at the latter, have been found during the recent excavations, which, the wheat, was probably carried to all the northern stations from the south of England, or Britannia Prima, where the Romans grew it extensively.

JANNOCK.

I pass now to the Jannock, still a household word in Lancashire. It is a thick, broad, unleavened oaten loaf, leavened later on, which was sometimes also made of barley or pease meal, and is of dark colour. Gervase Markham,* in 1631, tells us that it was made of "the small dust or oatmeale with which all pottage is made and thickened, whether they be meate-pottage, milke-pottage

^{*} See Gervase Markham, The English Housewife, 1631.

or any thicke or else thinne grewell; with this small meale oatemeale is made and six severall kinds of very good and wholesome bread, as your Anacks, Jannacks, and such like." The loaves were made originally of various assize weights of one, two, four, and eight pounds. It is first mentioned in Manchester in 1586, when the town suffered from a great dearth, and the Bishop of Chester ordered "that the jannocke should weigh 13 oz. troy weight."* We read of six penny jannocks loaves in 1737 at Bury;† in 1745 Tim Bobbin mentions "a tupunny jannock," and the local price of jannock was twelve pence for fifteen pounds in 1760.

It is still made in Bedford and Leigh, and once or twice a week in Westhoughton,‡ and still sold in Standish Gate, Wigan. The weight of a whole loaf, as made now in the district, is nine pounds; its thickness in the centre from three and a half to four inches, tapering to one inch at the side, and twenty inches in size, and cut into haunches, or thwacks or thwangs, as the Lancashire people have it. It resembles, therefore, the modern German round brown loaf. It is now baked on the oven bottom of brick, without tin or mug round, the meal ground up small, and the husk taken out.

Formerly, however, it was baked, like the haver-cakes, on the backstone, of which there were two kinds, the larger or double one, measuring twenty-eight to thirty inches by sixteen to twenty inches, and the smaller size sixteen to eighteen inches square, the price of which was in 1616 in Manchester respectively 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d. Waugh says (1855), "This thick unleavened cake, called jannock, is scarcely ever seen in South-east Lancashire now, but it

^{*} See History of Manchester, by R. Hollingworth, p. 91.

^{†&}quot; Jannock" note in City News, 7,003, 7th July, 1894. † Ibid, 6,994, 30th June, 1894.

used to be highly esteemed. 'That's noan jannock,' applied to anything which is not what it ought to be,* commemorates the favour of this wholesome old cake of theirs." Although it has gone out of fashion in that part of the country, it still lingers on in North and West Lancashire, as we have seen.

The earliest mention of jannock is found in 1500 in the Chester Plays, "the janock of Lancachyre." Special allusion is made again in 1660, "the oaten cakes of the north, the jannocks of Lancashire, the grues of Cheshire," and the word runs through all the old English and English-Latin, -Dutch, -Italian dictionaries from 1626 onward, and is described as a loafe made only of oaten meale. It is called in Latin avenacium, in Dutch haver broodt, in Swedish hafre brod, in Italian pan d'avena, which shows it to have been a kind of bread well known through the country. We see from the Manchester Court Leet Records that bakers were closely watched for tendering the genuine article. In 1686 Gilbert Lowe was fined 2s. 6d. for selling "Gannack bread not marketable."

The jannock, however, is by no means, as generally believed, peculiar to Lancashire; such an idea is quite erroneous. Still it is certain that Lancashire is that county where its popularity has survived longest. It was baked and eaten in almost all the northern counties, viz., North Derbyshire, North Cheshire, Westmorland, Cumberland, Yorkshire, and it is even mentioned in Scott's Rob Roy. It was the food stay of the early manufacturing towns, and formed a considerable advance on the thin and fragile and very hard and dry haver-cake, which did

^{*} The jannock was of pure oatmeal, that is, unadulterated by pease, beanmeal, &c., and, therefore, genuine in its proper state. Anything, therefore, was considered "Jannock" which was honest, genuine, fair, pleasant, straightforward, &c.

not satisfy the appetite or offer the same staying power as the compact, fresh, sweet, and at the same time soft-conditioned, jannock, which must have proved, when first introduced, to be a great blessing for the working people and the poorer classes, who seem to have doated upon it; if it was not the genuine stuff, or some other substitute, then it was "noan jannock." How much it must have been to the people to have the loaf is shown by the slow progress of the art of making bread finding its way northward. About a century ago* loaf bread was almost as rare in the rural districts of Scotland, and barley bannocks of oaten cakes then constituted the universal rule amongst all ranks.

In the time of Edward III., who married Philippa of Hainault in 1328, a very large number of families of woollen manufacturers from Flanders, on the king's invitation, settled in different parts of the country, such as York, Kendal, Halifax, Manchester, Rossendale and Pendle, Norwich, Essex, Kent, and west of England. My belief is that the introduction of the jannock is entirely due to these early immigrants alone. We find that the places and counties where the word jannock, in its substantive and adjective forms occurs, mainly co-exist with those very parts where the Flemish colonists settled down. Canon Atkinson derived the root from Old Norse jafn= even, level, and this derivation has also been adopted by Professor Wright in his English Dialect Dictionary, but even now in Swedent loaves are rarely seen in the towns, while rolls are frequent. Moreover, the descriptioneven, level—does not answer to the shape of the jannock,

^{*} See Encyclopædia Britannica, article "Baking," 9th edition, vol. iii., p. 250.

[†]See A Glossary of the Cleveland Dialect, under "Jannock," 1868, by Canon Atkinson, of Danby-in-Cleveland.

which is a convex thick loaf; and, furthermore, the old Norsemen who settled at an early period in the northern counties knew nothing of loaves; nor does the topographical range of jannock tally with the areas occupied by these invaders.

I think the jannock underwent the same process as the bannock had gone through before. It slowly retreated northward from the south-western counties of England, where the oats were gradually displaced by the wheat. The Flemish jannock here, once so greatly valued by the people, went out of date, in consequence, and of its former presence the only actual trace left was in the phrase "It's noan jannock," with its secondary meaning of genuine, agreeable, right, honest, fair. I would derive it from Old English genog, O.H.G. ginuog, Dutch genoeg = enough, sufficient of quantity. The jannock was a very satisfactory, and in every sense beneficial, improvement upon the inconvenient haver-cake; it was substantial, wholesome, and satisfied the stomach—one had enough! The jannock kept its ground right into the beginning of last century in Lancashire; it slowly died out in Cheshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Westmorland, and Cumberland; it had a long, tenacious life in our county, so much leavened, in its ancient manufacturing centres, with tough and sturdy Flemish blood and fibre. But we have advanced now a step further, and the jannock has yielded to the wheaten loaf. How many places are there left at present where we could order with Staton, of Bolton, "A gill o' ale to some jannock and cheese?"

THE POTATO.

It is not too much to say that the introduction of the potato has brought about a complete change, if not a

revolution in agriculture and national economy, and added a new item to the diet of the rural and town population. In the North it pushed the consumption of porridge slowly into the background, and many times averted famine during the past two centuries not only in Ireland, but also in the Highlands of Scotland, where famine was unhappily but too frequent before the wholesale cultivation of this tuber, particularly so in 1783. The potato was first brought to Europe by the Spaniards, who called it by its Indian name, papas. [Battatas or potatoes were the sweet potatoes and quite a different botanical species.] Sir Walter Raleigh, as has been well proved, was only its second introducer. He planted the tubers in his garden at Youghal in 1588. It was, of course, first a great and precious novelty,* to be had only by royalty and fashion, and Professor Rogerst gives us an entry in 1590: "Purchased for the Queen's table, 5 lbs. potatoes at 2s. 6d.; I lb. at 2s. 6d.; I lb. at Is. (foreign)." There is another entry of potatoes provided for the Queen in 1619 and another one in 1632: "3 lbs. at 4d. at Hartung (Dutch)," but it never became popular, and was grown in the gardens and glass houses as a mere curiosity or luxury, and made into pickles or preserve and other dainty preparations. In Ireland potatoes were sold in 1676 at 1s. 8d. per bushel. Few potatoes were formerly used after harvest, except a small quantity preserved as a treat for their Halloween supper, which were eaten with butter. This "Palladium against famine," as it has been called, was not cultivated in Scotland until 1683.§

^{*} Gerard, in his Herbal, says: "They are either roasted in the embers or boiled and eaten with oile, vinegar, and pepper, or dressed some other way by the hand of a skilfull cook," p. 928.

[†] History of Agriculture and Prices, by Professor Rogers.

[‡] See Dublin Penny Magazine, 1833, p. 283.

[§] History of Agriculture and Prices, by Professor Rogers.

Waldron, in his *History of Isle of Man*, remarks that in 1710 oats and *potatoes* were the chief produce of the Manx, and *Manx Earlys* were early known for their good qualities. For five or six years past much of the land in the island had been planted with potatoes, and a convocation held in 1712 at Kirk Michael made them tithable.*

Towards the end of 1634 it was first planted in Lancashire in the fields.† Phillips! says: "It was accidently thrown on our coast by a vessel wrecked on the coast, called North Meols, in Lancashire, a place and soil even now famous for producing this vegetable in great perfection," and in another place it is stated that "this inestimable root was long an article of common diet in Lancashire and Cheshire before it was known otherwise than a garden vegetable in most other parts of the kingdom, and these counties are still peculiarly celebrated for the finest and most productive kinds. The best this county are supposed to grow in the light, sandy soil of some of the sea-coast parishes, especially the Meales, near Ormskirk. Thomas Tyldesley consumed them already in his household at Foxhall, near Blackpool, as early as 1712, and in 1714, in an entry, we read: "April 10th, 2s. pro pottetow setts to Hugh Walker."

In 1746 it is mentioned as one of the articles on sale in New Church Market, Rossendale.¶ I possess also a MS.

^{*} History of Isle of Man, by A. W. Moore, 1900, vol. i., p. 515.

[†] See Dublin Penny Magazine, 1840.

[‡] See History of the Cultivated Vegetables, by Henry Phillips, London, 1831.

[§] See The Tradesman, or Commercial Magazine, London, 1808, vol. i., p. 242.

^{||} See Tyldesley's Diary, 1712-1714, Preston, 1873, p. 143.

[¶] The Manchester Magazine, July 15th, 1746, has the following interesting announcement: "New Church Market. To be held July, 1746, for the first time for the sale of Wool, Soap, Butter, Oil, Meal, Flour, Wheat, Malt, Cheese, Pork, Potatoes, &c.; the Clothiers or Bag Makers in and

memorandum dated 7th February, 1767: "A bargain made with Henry Key and Isaac Cook (Preston) for 10 loads of *Potteatows*, att 5/6 per load." In 1757* we read: "It is in a manner the food of the common people of Ireland, and is cultivated in Lancashire and some other parts of England in vast quantities."

We read in Whitworth's *Manchester Magazine*, May 23rd, 1758: "Yesterday potatoes were warned through the town by the common cryer, to be sold at nine pence per bushel."

Before 1750 it had become already important as a field crop, and has exercised a beneficial influence on the general welfare of the people.

It may be worth recalling to mind that in 1662-3 a Mr. Buckland, a Somerset gentleman, recognised the value of the potato, and recommended the planting of it in all parts of the kingdom to prevent famine.

I may also notice the medical and dietary observations made by Dr. William Forster in 1746. He says: "Potatoes are much used every where, they contain Glutinous Parts, so that they are a nourishment proper for thin and hot constitutions, but are apt to swell up the stomach of weak constitutions, for their juice half ferments and is therefore windy. Hot people's stomach being dry and tense, such a juice in them is split into minute parts and they serve to relax such vessels and sheath such sharp humours; but for cold stomachs and such as abound with phlegm, nothing is more prejudicial."

Let me also allude to some early literary passages about the potato. In the *London Magazine*, January, 1734, in

about Rossendale intend in future to expose their goods to sale at New-church, Rossendale."

^{*} See A Compleat Body of Husbandry, Dublin, 1757, vol. ii., p. 457.

a poem, called *Plaistow*, which describes its amenities and natural riches, we read:—

Not Hartford Wheat or Derby rye Or Ipswich peas can ours outvie Let Irish wights no longer boast The fam'd *Potatoes* of their coast: Potatoes now are Plaistow's pride, Whole markets are from hence supplied.

Again, in the same magazine, September, 1743, in a political satire, entitled *Potatoes and Hemp*," we read:—

You've been in Ireland, we know, And seen how there *potatoes* grow, Let them but once get in the ground No way to root them out is found, &c.

Dean Swift (1667-1745) says: "The families of farmers in Ireland live in filth and nastiness upon buttermilk and potatoes." Gay (1688-1732) also notices their attachment to them:—

Leek to the Welsh, to Dutchmen butter's dear, Of *Irish* swains *potato* is the cheer.

Reverting to Lancashire, Kirkpatrick writes in 1796: "The northern parts of this kingdom are most famous for this vegetable and particularly the county of Lancaster. Potatoes are the chief maintenance of the lower classes here, and are almost the sole food of the children. A potato pie in the north of England is held in the highest esteem even among possessors of fortune," of which Mrs. Raffald has left us the Lancashire recipe.*

I will not tire you unnecessarily with the many receipts

^{*&}quot;The potato-pye" is already mentioned in A Collection of receipts in Cookery and Physick and Surgery, London, 1714. It was made of Spanish potatoes, the marrow of bones, &c.

for the preparation of potato pies for the table of the rich, brimful with beef, mutton, and pork, and all sorts of delicious accessories. We read of potato tarts in 1730, potato fritters, and potato puddings, and many are the famous cooks who have dilated on the only and true method of boiling a potato to get all the benefit of its sweetness and richness of taste. The Lancashire people in the eighteenth century looked down with contempt, indeed, on the barbarous way in which the southern counties prepared and boiled them, depriving them of their whole culinary virtue.

In early times we have the *lobscouse* of Tim Bobbin in 1745, a sort of potato hash. We have Ben Brierley's *tato-hash*, flesh meat and potatoes boiled together.

The Lonsdale hot pot, a dish of meat, cut into small pieces, and potatoes cooked together in the oven. The snippet of Ormskirk, similar to the former; the dip-ith-'ole, mashed potatoes boiled with milk, served in farmhouses in a big dish; the potato cake, lolled up with a bit of flour and rolled out and baked and buttered over. Bamford speaks lovingly of the potato pie, but Ben Brierley grows perfectly enthusiastic in his praise of this glorious dish. and has immortalised it in his Chronicles of Waverlow. How his eyes and cheeks must have glowed on its appearance on the table board. The description is delicious, and I must not deprive you of the pleasure of the picture of the treat he puts before us: "What a feast was provided! Not your roast and boiled, your 'stuffing' and saucesfish, fowl, and foolery—but a noisy, fragrant, crisp-pasted, rib-shifting, mountain of a potato-pie. Potato-pie? Who does not love it that has ever rung his clogs in a Lancashire 'fowt'? Who has not stealthily peeped into the oven and watched the gravy bubble up the chimney-hole in the centre of the crust until his mouth has watered, and has impatiently fancied the dinner hour was as far distant as the millenium? Who has not blown at his plate till his head has felt dizzy in his eagerness for the first mouthful of the steaming mess, and patted his wedge of crust as if it was a much-loved pet that was to lie on the plate to be fondled instead of eaten? It is a glorious Lancashire dish—that potato pie; an institution as imperishable as its 'whoam-brew'd' and the native love of a bright-glowing fireside with its rant, and roar, and hearty glee!"

I have still to mention Tim Bobbin's balder dash and hodge podge, and the Lonsdale and Tim Bobbin's mishmash, which are all of the same nature and alike to our hot-pot.

Arthur Young,* the agriculturist, speaks with gusto of the comfort of sitting by a blazing turf fire and stripping the jackets of a potful of potatoes previous to pouching them, as the Irish carol runs:—

The swetest divarsion that's under the sun Is to sit by the fire till the praties are done."

ANIMAL FOOD.

Surrounded as we are with the luxuries of the table, supplied from all quarters of the globe, I am afraid there are few people who can represent to their mind the backward condition, economical and agricultural, which still prevailed, say, only a few hundred years ago, and how hard and uncertain life was to the rural population at that period. There was little winter feeding for cattle; the animals were slaughtered in October and November and put into brine; people lived on salt meat half the year;

^{*} See Dublin Penny Journal, 1832, p. 58.

the few fattened cattle which were not killed and salted for winter uses were turned out soon after Michaelmas to shift as they could during the cold months; the quality was as bad as the agriculture; the management of live stock was as imperfect as that of vegetable produce. Lucerne, sainfoin, and clover were little known, the root crops clumsily treated; the art of stalling, or house feeding for cattle, was not then practised, and very little wherewith to feed cattle in winter. There were no carrots or parsnips; onions, leeks, peas, beans, and cabbage the only vegetables. And of fruit-apples, no plums except damsons. The ploughing was very shallow, and the stock consisted of horses, oxen, cows for butter, cheese, and milk, and sheep for wool and woolfells, besides poultry. such as geese, ducks, fowl. The meat, fish, &c., were garnished with but few green vegetables.

Little beef could have fallen to the lot of the people of the day, and it is quite a fallacy to speak of the "glorious roast beef of old England," which was in those days rather lean and badly reared, and scarcely, if at all, within reach of the rural population, to whom the term must have been rather figurative.

The pig was the most important article of food, and it might more properly be said that not beef, but bacon, had the main share of building up the physical and corporeal frame of John Bull.* The pig was the "gintleman that paid the rint;" it was the rapture alike of the Anglo-Saxon thane and thrall, and it conjures up a pleasant memory of Gurth, old Ceodric's swineherd, and Charles

^{*}In Diana of the Crossways the author makes Andrew Hedger say, "Ah could eat hog a solid hour. Hog's my feed. Lord! you should see the chitterlings and the sausages hung up to and along the beams. Home-fed hog! And the hams! That's what I say of a hog. He's good from end to end, and beats a Christian hollow" (p. 80).

Lamb's History of Roast Pig. It was a particular object of devotion to the ancient Irish, who were capital smoke-curers of ham and bacon, and appreciated the delicacy of pig-blood puddings and sausage. The pig had a place even under their roof-beam, and was quite reckoned a member of the household, and of such primæval significance that it plays a not unimportant part in Celtic* and Anglo-Saxon mythology; in fact, it was a kind of self-sacrificing benefactor of the race of men, and is as popular now as it has been in the dim past.

"Pig killin" in Lancashire was a great family affair. Lopping breawis was made at the killing of a swine, with broth of the boiled entrails, in Tim Bobbin's time; and some good "whoam-fed bac'n" a Lancashire native could never resist, and there is a deep sadness couched in Ben Brierley's "It's twenty yer, au'm sure, sin au'd mi chops graist in gradely whoam-fed bac'n." In "Come whoam to th' childer and me" the wife breaks tenderly out, "There's some nice bacon collops o'th' hob." And we have the nottlins, familiar in Bolton, which was "th' bally o'th' pig beightt into tripe." Ray, in his Proverbs, has preserved an old Lancashire rhyme:—

In Oldham brewis wet and warm, An' Rochdale puddings ther's no harm.

And the Oldhamers were nicknamed Owdham Brewis. The brewis was an oatcake soaked in broth, or pig's stew, and was long before that greatly enjoyed by the Anglo-Saxons, who called it briw or briwas=a small piece of meat made in broth, and no doubt the Welsh, great pork-eaters as

^{*}The legendary food of the Land of Promise consisted of fresh pork, new milk, and ale (see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1881, article *Ireland*, History, p. 257).

they were, did not stand far behind them. They likewise call it brywis.

The people in Westhoughton during wake times were much given to large flat pork pies. Stretford black puddings had a certain celebrity, and were made, like the Lonsdale black puddings, of blood, suet, and groats, stuffed into the intestines of pigs, which when boiled are quite black. A most savoury dish in Lancashire was formerly a pig's purtenance, or "pluck and liver," and hog's feet, hog's pudding, and hog meat pie.

We come now to a famous old dish called the haggis,* already mentioned (1420) in the Liber Cocorum, where it says, "For hagese the hert of schepe the nere you take hacken alle togeder with gode persole," &c. Again, in 1430, we read of the hagwys of a schepe, a dish consisting of the heart, lungs, and liver of a sheep. It was minced with suet and oatmeal, and seasoned with salt, pepper, onions, &c., and boiled like a large sausage in the maw of the animal. A hagas maker was a tucetarius, and the hagase tunecetum, and in Gaelic taigeis (= scrotum), while the Manx call it prinjeig, and also hackage. We know that it is and has been much relished by the Scotch and Gael and the old Irish. Markham says, in 1631, of the haggis, "The small oatmeal, mixed with blood and the liver of either sheep, calf, or swine, makes the pudding which is called haggas or haggus." It is mentioned in Tim Bobbin, in 1745, as haggus and a pottage made of herbs, meal, and butter. It was once general and popular in Lancashire, and continued to be made in the Fylde till the end of the eighteenth century and beyond. It is the hack pudding of the Lonsdale folk, and Allan Ramsey,

^{*}Haggis, Distribution of. Bch., Ab., W.-Sc., Dmb., Rnf., Ayr, Lnk., Lth., Edb., Bwk., Slk., Rxb., Dmf., Wgt., Ny. Cy., Nbl., Cum., Lanc., e. Lanc. See Wright's English Dialect Dictionary.

in 1725, describes the haggise as a pudding made of the lungs and liver of the sheep and boiled in a big bag. It was, no doubt, an old British dish, and the mucriucht of the Milesians, prepared with the blood of pigs and a little tansy, onions, salt, &c. They had also the drisechan caorach, made of sheep's blood, and were great sausage eaters. We have it on record that the Highland chiefs used to boil a bag full of meat with a gentle fire held below, while constantly rubbing the bottom with grease. to keep it from burning, and the bag was fastened to a stick. Another variety of the haggis was the med or mid calf, also an old Lancashire dish, and known to Tim Bobbin. It was eaten in Lonsdale, Carlisle, Stockport, Manchester, and many other places. It is made of calf's pluck or heart, liver, and lungs, and used to be considered a great delicacy; and Elizabeth Raffald has left us a fine receipt, which will tempt even now a modern Lancashire gourmand. Calf's head was another favourite dish. Then we have the well-known black pudding, made of blood, suet, groats, stuffed into pigs' skins, and popular throughout the northern counties. We have the white budding, which does not contain blood; and I must not forget the auld wives' hakes of the Furness district, taken at Christmas and New Year, which is a pudding made in the maw of a sheep or hog, and, of course, nothing else than our haggis.

The Highlanders had a kind of pudding made of calf's entrails called *creachan*, and the Romans their *tomacula* or *tomacla*, which were puddings or sausages made of liver and flesh of animals, chopped and mixed together, and were also called *farcimina* (gut puddings), and, like our sausages, were made by stuffing a gut taken from the animal with above ingredients. *Juvenal* in his Satire X. speaks of *candiduli tomacula porci*.

The Tungese also had their schiloutka, a kind of gut or black pudding, filled with blood, which they boiled. Their nimni was another pudding, made of blood and chopped guts. The Lapps make a haggis of reindeer blood, mixed with wild berries, which they put in the stomach of this animal and boil.*

We read occasionally of a rack of mutton and a cost of veal, and less of beef, in the rural North in past ages, and we know that the poor country population were practically strangers to it. The swine was the great purveyor of all.

The dumplings or boes are familiar in Lancashire households. We have Tim Bobbin's pot boe, the berm bo, well known to readers of Waugh's tales, a light pudding made of flour, yeast, and suet. We meet with the Aister bos (Easter dumplings); we have Staton's berm and meight dumplings, the beef boes or beefsteak dumplings already described, and the barm pudding of Elizabeth Raffald, and the treacle pudding, the potato dumpling. The dumpling is the kloss of the Germans, who are passionate dumpling eaters.

Proceeding now to fruit pies, there is the birry pie or gooseberry tart of Lonsdale. Tim Bobbin presents us with the faaberry tart or gooseberry tart or tert; the "roly poly," a pudding made of rolled-up paste with preserve between in folds, also called in Derbyshire "dog in a blanket; the elder-rob, a preserve made of black elderberries, and the love of a red apple, and roasted appos of the Lancashire people is proverbial. Blackberry tarts were also very general; amongst greens, scallions or young onions and watercress were great favourites, and peas and

^{*}See Description de toutes les nations de l'empire de Russie, Petersburg, 1776, 4to, p. 9, first collection; and p. 60, third collection.

beans were cultivated at an early period. Carlings were pease boiled on Care Sunday.

Kail, the great and national pottage of Scotland has never taken a real foothold in Lancashire. In Cumberland we have the keale in the form of a broth; so in Lonsdale. We find it again in Furness where, however, there is little love for it. Waugh, in his Jannock, is told by his host: "I had never much traffic o' that mak', min's bin chiefly poddish and peas-kale and blue-milk cheese." The Fylde partook of the kail, and the Manx have their potatoes and white cabbage and broth, made up of shelled barley, cabbage, leeks, onions, and parsnips and potatoes mashed together. In the Isle of Man it was probably also introduced during the Scottish conquest of the island for some centuries, and, no doubt, it also found its way down from Western Scotland to Cumberland and West Lancashire. Moryson, in about 1600, informs us that the Scotch, "touching their diet, eat much red colewort and cabbage." "Our Saxon ancestors," says Verstegan, "called February sprout-kele; by kele meaning the kelewort, which we now call the cole-wort; the pot-wort, in time long past, most used by our ancestors, and the broth made therewith was also called kele. This kele-wort or potage herb was the chief winter-wort for the sustenance of the husbandmen. The kele is the well-known kale of the cabbage tribe.* Fuller in 1632 writes: "Cheshire for the cheese chamber, Northumberland for the colehouse."† While in Aberdeen, Mrs. Beecher Stowe received an epistle from an unknown admirer, asking her therein, "Aweel, be sure and try a cupful of Scottish kailbrose. See and get a sup o' Scotch long-kail." And in Ritson's

^{*} See Beauties of the Country, by Thomas Miller, London, 1837, p. 70.

[†] See Murray's English Dictionary.

[‡] See Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands, by Mrs. H. Beecher Stowe, 1854, p. 80.

Scottish Poems the song goes:-

With crowdy-mowdy they fed me, Lang-kail and ranty tanty.

While:-

The monks of Melrose made gude kail On Fridays when they feasted.

In the cloisters of Melrose Abbey are to be seen those exquisite carvings representing the leaf of the *curly kail of Scotland*, a leaf said to be as worthy of imitation as the Greek acanthus. Ecclesiastical Scotland has here immortalised the kail in stone. The Greeks and Romans held the colewort in great esteem, and Pliny mentions the coles of Cumes, Pompeii, Calabria, Aricia, and the Sabellian coles: these were reputed the sweetest. It was not a "Celtic" dish.

Of cakes we have the butty cakes, the treacle butter cakes. A butter-shag was a slice of bread and butter. We have also the apple fritters, simnels, cross buns, gingerbread, saumas cakes, the funeral cakes, and the Christmas mince pies; Tim Bobbin's sillabeawk, a rich cake used at weddings; poncakes; and of muffins the cob and pikelin of the Fylde, and the manchet or wheaten bread taken exceptionally, when it could be afforded, by the poorer people.

MILK.

Milk was an important item in the diet of the people. There was the fresh and sweet milk, and the flitten or flet milk or flittings (from fleet=to skim), milk with the cream taken off, which was also called blue milk. We have the churn or butter milk or sour milk taken with oatcakes for the bagging; the whey, also called the whigge, an excellent cool drink, and wholesome in summer. The irning tub

was the vessel in which milk was placed for curdling, from A.-S. yrnan=to run, coagulate. For coagulation the steep or cheese lep bag or runnet or rennet was used, which was "the stomacke bagge of a young suckling calfe," as explained by Markham. For straining the milk from all unclean things the syle-dish was employed, which Tim Bobbin also calls the seel or seeigh, the same as in Isle of Man. The curdled milk also went by the name of loppered milk; another name is cruds, the binjean of the Manx. Weld milk or awilled milk (from A.-S. welan=to boil) was boiled milk. Ryem or ream is the cream, for which they had the ryem mug. To make cheese was to irnin and the churn staff was the churn curdle; the last-pressed whey in making of cheese was the thrutchings.

Wheat, creed or softened and boiled with milk, formed the favourite furmity, frumenty, or frummaty mentioned in Tim Bobbin. Markham tells us that that excellent dish, called in Cheshire and Lancashire flamery or flummery, was prepared from small oatmeal, often steeped in water and cleansed, and then boiled to a thick stiff jelly and eaten with milk. It was soured and is the same as the sowins. Othem-upothem, in Scotland, is cold flummery.

The cheese formerly made in Lancashire were of small size and eaten fresh, and, therefore, called "green cheese;" they made only little cheeses. Cheshire, owing to its rich pasturage, was always the great cheese-producing county; the cheese of Cumberland, on the contrary, was very poor and hard-rinded. The consumption of butter in Lancashire was limited and is little alluded to.

BEER.

The art of malting and the use of beer are supposed to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans. Beer and vinegar were the ordinary beverage of the soldiers under Julius Cæsar. It was the chief intoxicating drink of the ancient Irish, as of all the Northern European people, and called in old Irish *cuirm*, and later on also *ol*, a word probably borrowed from the old Norse.

Beer, being so suitable to the climate and so easily made by an agricultural people with plenty of corn, soon became the national beverage. Previous to this, the usual drinks of the ancient Britons were water, milk, and mead (an intoxicating drink made from honey). After the departure of the Romans from Britain the Saxons learned from the subdued natives the art of brewing.* According to the "Alvismal," a Scandinavian poem of the tenth century, it is called *ale* among men and among the gods *beer*.

Waugh and Ben Brierley, and the whole host of minor dialect writers, never tire of setting forth the virtue and convivial powers of the "quiftin pots" of good whoam brewed—who, indeed, could resist "a sup o' good brown ale?" The foundation of all social intercourse rested on it—let that be festival, wedding, wake, or harvest, and we scarcely can extricate ourselves from the jollifications that never seemed to flag throughout the year. Between the imbibing of church, midsummer, leet, Whitsun, + clerk, bride, lambs, Arval, and Scot ales it was almost impossible for mortal man to keep his head clear and sober. And what variety of possets there were! The sillabub, a rich posset or spiced ale used at weddings before going to church. Tim Bobbin's camper knows, an ale pottage in which are put sugar, spices, &c.; the swig, a mixture of ale, nutmeg, &c.; mulled ale, ale boiled with sugar, spice; the

^{*} See Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. iii., pp. 264-5.

^{† &}quot;The Whitsun ales," Bamford says, "consisted of main brews of ale; a number clubbing to purchase malt, which was brewed by one selected from the party, and drunk at one of the houses."

ale-berry, a dish consisting of ale boiled with spice, sugar, and sops of bread; ale-posset, made of old ale poured over boiling milk or oatcake; braggot, new ale spiced and sugared; and the wort, the new unfermented beer. Till we descend down to the small beer or swats; the greawt, thin ale drawn off after the first brewing, and the penny whip, very small beer.

Other home-made beverages were the bortree jack, elder-berry wine, and the nettle whizz or stingo; and the Essex swish-swash, made with honeycombs and water and some pepper and other spices, and the rather primitive ranty-tanty, a beverage distilled from heath and other vegetable substances, formerly used by the Ayrshire peasantry.

THE DIOD GRIAFOL OR ROWAN ALE.

In The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne mention is made of the wonderful virtues of the berries, and a beverage prepared from it, of the mountain ash or rowan (Sorbus aucuparia), called in Irish caorthann. I will quote the passage:—*

"Amongst the adventures of Diarmuid it is related how he attacked a giant who was guardian of the berries of a certain rowan or quicken tree, which grew in the midst of a wood, wherein no one durst hunt, called Dubhros, or black forest, in the country of the Hy Fiarrach (in the present county of Sligo). The giant was of Lochlann, and his name Searbhan. Once on a time the Tuatha Dé Danann played a game of hurley against Féni on the plain, near the lake of Lein

^{*}See Celtic Heathendom, by Principal John Rhys, London, 1888, pp. 355-360. See also The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne, edited by Richd. J. O'Duffy, part i., Dublin, 1889, pp. 52, 53.

(Killarney). It was played for three days and nights, and when the Tuatha Dé Danann saw they could not prevail, they went away and journeyed northward. Their food consisted of crimson nuts, arbutus apples, and scarlet quicken berries, which they had brought from the Land of Lochlann. These fruits were gifted with many secret virtues, and their owners were very careful that neither apple nor nut should touch the soil of Erinn, but in passing through Dubhros they dropped a rowan berry without observing it. From the berry there grew up a tree which had the virtues of the rowan tree, for no disease or sickness seizes any one that eates three berries of them, and they (who eat) feel the exhilaration of wine and the satisfying of old mead, and were it at the age of a century he that tasted them would return again to be thirty year old."

Lochlann, before it came to mean the home of the Norsemen, says Principal Rhys, denoted a mysterious country in the lochs and seas. He speaks of the great interest which attaches to the origin of the importance and sacredness of the rowan and continues: One kind of answer that would meet the case was that the berries of the rowan were used in some early period in the brewing of an intoxicating drink, or, better still, of the first intoxicating drink ever known to the Teuto-Celtic Aryans. Such a use, he declares, would render the belief intelligible that they formed part of the sustenance of the gods (we have seen already, when speaking of beer, that in a Scandinavian poem it was called ale among men and among the gods beer), and that the latter kept them jealously for themselves until they were baffled in their purpose by some benefactor of man who placed them within the reach of his race.

The wonderful virtues of the rowan are furthermore described in a very old poem, ascribed to Caoch o'

Cluain.* It grows in Loch Mai, and the lines run:-

There stood a tree alone, erect, Its fruit than honey sweeter far; That precious fruit so richly red Did suffice for a man's nine meals, A year it added to man's life.

We know the great reverence in which the rowan was held by the ancient Scandinavians, where the holy tree was consecrated to Thor.† It was the only sort of tree, except the dwarf birch, which was found in Iceland, and the names of Reyni-kelda-nes, -stadr, -vellin mark places at the time of the settlement,‡ and we have the Reynilundr (rowan grove) -vödr (wood) vöndr (wand). Nowhere does the rowan grow more abundant than among the circles of unhewn stones in places where the Druids haunted.

We read that when going up on O'Hallow neet to Pendle each man grasped a branch of mountain ash (to which several sprigs of bay were tied) as a double protection against thunder and lightning and any stray fiends that might happen to be lurking about, and it was regarded in Aryan tradition as having sprung from the lightning and as being an embodiment of it.

^{*} See The Dean of Lismore's Book.

[†] Thor, the hammerer, thunderer, and the friend of the farmer, has been identified with the Gaulic Esus and the Roman Silvanus, who presided over woodlands, clearings, and gardens, together with the shepherds' interests. The Chester dedication of the German thunder-god shows a goblet on one side of the inscription. Esus in the bas-reliefs is variously presented with a hammer, axe, or billhook, and a goblet as attribute (see Celtic Heathendom, by J. Rhys, 1888, pp. 61-69). The drinking cup or goblet with which Thor is represented may connect him possibly with the invention of the intoxicating drink distilled from the rowan-berry.

[†] See Vigfussons, Icelandic Dictionary.

^{||} Wild Flowers, p. 109. London: Ward, Lock, & Tyler (n. d.).

[§] See Goblin Tales of Lancashire, by James Bowker. ¶ Folkard's Plant-Lore (see Mountain Ash).

We have already seen that the Irish name for the rowan is caor thein, but we also have a word caor theine = firebrand, lightning, and caor theintighe = thunder-bolt,* and caor is given as flame, fire, a berry, grape, flash of light, and teine = fire, which appears to throw some sidelight on its connection with thunder and lightning; suggested probably by its flaming, burning, scarlet berries. The Norsemen introduced the wood into their ships to preserve them from Ran, whose delight, it seems, it was to drown poor mariners.

The witches have no power Where there is roan-tree wood.

The universal use of the rowan in the homes of the Scandinavians, wherever they settled, for protection of themselves, their cattle and belongings, is too well known to require further illustration. In O.N. it is called *reynir*, Sw. *rönn*, Dan. *rönne*, and it is interesting to show the distribution and the spread of the word in the various parts of the country.†

It is a right northerly tree, and grows in Labrador,

^{*} See O'Reilly's Irish-English Dictionary. The quicken tree is also called by the Irish luis; cf. luisne=flame, a blaze, which is a curious coincidence.

[†] Rowan: Roan, Cumberland; rown, rawn, rone, Westm.; rowen, Yorks.; rowan, Mid-Yorks.; ran, W. Riding; ran, roan, Hallamsh.; rowan, Whitby; rown, east borders; ran, Aberdeensh.; ran, Forf.; rowan, Inverness; ran, Lothian; rawn, Roxb.; rowan, Belfast; rantyberries, Antrim, Down; roddin, rodden, roden, rodin tree, North Scotland, Aberdeensh., Clackmannan, and L. Inverness, Moray, Westmorland. Quicken: N.-W. Lincolnsh., Warwicksh., E. borders, Berwick, Fifeshire. Whicken: Craven; Wicken, Cheshire, N.-W. Lincolnsh., Northumberland, Salop; A.-S., wice; M.E., wiche; whickey, Cheshire, Derb., Salop; wiggin, wiggen, Cumberland, Westmorland, Wakefield, Wales, N. Lancashire; witch-wood, S.-W. Cumberland; witchen, witchin, Northampton, Worcester. Quäck-boom: Ostfriesland; quecken, quicken, Oldenburg; quitster, Dittmarsh; quitscher, Göttingen; quitschen, Mecklenburg and Hanover, Pommern, Hannover; quitzen, Niedersachsen, &c. Care: Cornwall; care, Devonshire, are dialect forms of cerddin (Welsh).

Greenland, Iceland, from Cape North in latitude 71° to 47′ 30″ in Bretagne, and on mountains as far as Switzerland and the Pyrenees; eastward it was observed on mount Athos, also on the mountains of the Crimea, and the Caucasus as far as Obdosk and beyond in Siberia. It grows, of course, in Sweden, Norway, and through Northern Europe and Asia,* and when we have it in the dialect form of *Roan* it seems to have been due to the Norsemen, and in its Southern and Anglo-Saxon form *Quicken*, to the Anglo-Saxons, derived from Friesland, &c.

From the tale of Diarmuid and Grainne it does not appear unlikely that the rowan was first added as a new tree to Ireland by the Norse from *Lachlann*, at an indefinite period, or dropped by some migratory birds, or self sown as *flögrönn*.

And now to its virtues and use. We are informed that the fruit was supposed to cause longevity.† It is said that the mountain ash berries, dried and powdered, will make a wholesome bread with the Scottish Highlanders and the Kamtschadales. An ardent spirit is also distilled from them, small in quantity but of fine flavour; infused in water they make an acid liquor somewhat similar to perry. In the island of Jura their juice is used as an acid for punch.‡ The fruit, or rather the beverage made of the fruit of this tree, is reckoned profitable for rendering pure the blood and to keep the body free.§ The Welsh use the berries against the scurvy. || Cradock, in his travels in Wales,¶ says: "Being very thirsty from heat and fatigue I enquired for some goat's milk, but to no

^{*} See Chronol. History of Plants, by Chs. Pickering, 1879. † See Gaelic Names of Plants, by John Cameron.

[‡] Sylvan Sketches, by the author of the Flora Domestica, London, 1831.

[§] Welsh Botany, by Hugh Davies, 1813.

^{||} Synopsis Stirpium Hibernicarum, Caleb Threlkeld, Dublin, 1727.

purpose; the guide, however, informed me that he could procure me from a neighbouring cottage (near Cader Idris) a liquor peculiar to that part of North Wales, which infinitely exceeded Stirom cyder. I tasted it, and found it was made of mountain ash berries and crabs or sloes. It should remain at least half a year in the vessel before it is bottled off, and if it were then kept to a proper age, it would not be altogether contemptible. Again,* I observed near a cottage in Cwm Llan that several children were employed in gathering the berries of the mountain ash. On enquiring of the guide for what purpose this was done, he informed me that the Welsh people brew from them a liquor which they call Diod griafol = drink or ale of the rowan. This, he said, was done by merely crushing the berries and putting water to them, which, after remaining a fortnight, is drawn for use. The flavour, as I understood him, was somewhat like that of perry.† It is even now often sold in the market, and also used in Scotland for making rowan preserve.

In Sweden the berries are used for scorbut and cider, vinegar, and also a kind of spirit or brantwein is distilled from them. (See Flora Swedica, Lappland.) I have only adduced a few instances proving the use of the rowan for fermented beverages, &c., which might be increased considerably. It would show that very probably the curious allusion in the tale of Diarmuid of Grainne, although highly coloured, is not at all fanciful, and that these ancient Irish may have been already well acquainted with the mysteries and virtues of the lovely and rare, crimson rowan

* North Wales, by the Rev. W. Bingley, 1814, p. 265.

[†] Criafol is another name of the mountain ash, given by the Welsh. It is already mentioned as Cerddin, Taliesin by Dafydd ap Gwilym, 1400, as criafon, 1450; ffaling goch, 1632; cyriawol, criafol, cerddin, 1794 (Owen); cyravol, cyravon.

berries, which generously yielded to them an exhilarating, if not intoxicating drink, highly valued, and kept secret from divulging. They derived from it an early kind of "mountain dew" or whisky; in poetical flight of language abstracted from the gods. There is another preparation, produced from the Sorbus domestica or the sorb apple tree, called cormé, which Cotgrave (1611) describes as "a drink or wine which surpasses in goodnesse Perrie or Cider and comes neerest of any of those kinds unto white wine." Litré defines it: "Cormé, boisson fermenté faite avec des cormes; vin, peré, cormé, bière," but this species does not come into play here at all, and is just mentioned en passant.

NICKNAMES.

A pleasant chapter might be written about the preferential dishes of different nations, countries, and even counties, and the names and nicknames attached to the people in consequence. The Spectator* alludes to it: "Every nation," he says, "is called by those circumforaneous wits by the name of that dish of meat which it loved best. In Holland they are termed Pickled Herrings, in France Jean Pottages, in Italy Maccaronites, and in Great Britain Jack Puddings." This list might be extended further. In Lancashire, Pratapies for the people was not uncommon, and in Bolton Staton mentions such nicknames as Bowton Trotters, Porritch Eiters, Jannock Chaumpers, Fried Prato Munchers, Berm and Meight Dumplins Devourers, &c. It is enough to allude to it. There are also various places known for the excellence of preparing special dishes, pies, puddings, and cakes, which I need not further dwell upon in this place.

^{*} Spectator, No. 47, April 24th, 1710-11.

CONCLUSION.

In gathering together the leading points which have come out in the course of a cursory examination into the "food and drink" of the country population in former centuries, we find a striking uniformity running through the whole field of our enquiry, and the same remarks apply no less to Lancashire.

We see that among *animals* the pig, the cow, the sheep, and of *cereals* the oats and barley formed the broad basis of sustenance for the people.

In the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland the pig drops out, and their wealth consisted of cattle and sheep; the latter particularly formed the great stock in the Hebrides, the Orkneys, the Shetlands, and the Faroes; the pig had its great habitat in the levels of Ireland, Wales, and England, where there was plenty of oak and acorns for mast; in the North the moorlands, heaths, and the glens favoured the sheep and conditioned their extensive rearing.

Oats in the form of porridge, cake, loaf, and barley, fermented as ale, and the pig in the shape of, and reduced to bacon, puddings, ham, salt meat; the cow for milk, cheese, and butter; the sheep, as haggis and boiled meat; little veal and less beef and a few vegetables distinguish the earlier régime.

In the earlier times the failure or scarcity of crops, together with the very rudimentary knowledge of husbandry and agriculture; a want of proper roads and intercommunication, which left whole country sides in utter isolation, the battle of life was constant, and dearth of the foodstuffs and deprivation often made great havoc among the population. Famine and starvation went like great desolating waves through the country.

The introduction of the potato towards the eighteenth century had a great effect on the diet, and helped to ameliorate the conditions of life of the rural and manufacturing population. The consumption of tea, coffee, sugar, fruit, fresh fish, &c., which became general in the first or second quarter of the last century, brought about another considerable change in the style and diet of national life.

The kitchen-middens found at *Hastings* have given us a glimpse into the life of the peoples who lived there in "neolithic" times. They had already a kind of kitchen saucepan, which frequently was found covered with a deep crust of soot, made of coarse clay and crushed quartz and large sand grains, and seven to ten inches in diameter. They also had saucers or plates six to nine inches in diameter and flat-bottomed, and a favourite method of cooking was to invest the animal or meat in a "clay jacket" and cover it with stones and then light the fire over the stones. They partook largely of the ox, the pig, horse, sheep, goat, roebuck, hare, rabbit, and grouse, wild duck, and sea fish;* and at *Harlyn Bay*† the same old race existed much in the same way.

The Feni in Ireland are said to have dressed their food in the open air, and their rude hearths, called falachda na bhfeini, containing charcoal and small silicious sooty stones, are frequently uncovered by the plough near the banks of rivulets in many parts of the south of Ireland. They were in the habit of digging large pits. They kindled large fires into which they threw red-hot stones as a pavement. The flesh, bound up in green sedge or bulrushes, was laid upon these; over them was fixed

^{*} See The Prehistoric Races of Hastings, by W. J. Lewis Abbott, 1898, St. Leonards-on-Sea, pp. 6-11.

[†] Harlyn Bay and the Discoveries of its Prehistoric Remains, by R. Ashington Bullen, London, 1902.

another layer of hot stones, then a quantity of flesh, and this was observed till the pit was full.*

Some of the preparations we have been dealing with, such as for instance the bannock, porridge, haggis, must have been known already in "bronze" and "neolithic" times. Haggis was the same appreciated in imperial and refined Rome as by the nomadic Tungese and Lapps and the primitive Celts and Teutons. It was considered a great dainty. The hedgehog, once roasted in a "clay jacket" or in the embers in its own jacket, formed a delicacy both in the south of Europe and amongst the Gipsies, and formerly no less so with the Cheshire people.

MANCHESTER.

Let us now look at town life in Manchester in the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1556† we have the Market lookers for "corne, grayne, draffe, bran." We read that bread sellers were not to sell bread in the street, nor were sellers to bring it otherwise but into the open market; neither were they allowed "to open any secke untill the market belle rung." The bakers or "all maner person and persons keeping any backe house within the town shall not laye any gorse or kiddes [small sticks or faggots] within two bayes of a oven or ovens whear they or any of them have any ovens or backe house," for the houses were built of very inflammable timber and wattle, and easily set on fire by the blaze of the gorse or kiddes.

In 1560 John Chalmer, the baker, is mentioned, who has "a comen oven for the right of which he has to paye

† See Court Leet Records, vol. i., 1556, page 30.

^{*} See An Inquiry concerning the Primitive Inhabitants of Ireland, p. 146, by Thomas Wood, M.D., Cork, 1821.

yerelie to the Lord La Warr the some of 6/8." It seems the privilege was confined to this family, for in 1473 the wife of *Thurstan Chalmer* held a common bakehouse or oven (furnace) in Manchester at the will of the lord. We know from Hollingworth that the bread used by the inhabitants of the town was the penny white loaf, which weighed in 1568, at the time of a great dearth, but 6 or 8 oz., should weigh 9 oz. troy; boulted, 11 oz.; rye bread, 10 oz.; brown, about 14 oz., should weigh 15 oz.; the jannock; and the oatcake, which should weigh 15 oz. The market lookers had to examine that this bread should be wholesome and well baked, every baker have his mark according to the statute, that they sell but onely twelve to the dozen, no loaves be made but either one, two, or four pence at the farthest.*

The better bread was only for the richer class, while the poor people were the consumers of the jannock and oatcake. It was further ordered that the bakers "putt no butter or sewytt in cakes or bread;" also that no corn must be winnowed in the street. The bread was often adulterated with peas or beanmeal, or short in weight, and the Court Leet is very particular to impress at repeated times on the "officers for holsome Bread and keeping the assize of bread" to keep a sharp look-out for offenders. All of them that "selle breade in the Markett near unto the crosse" are told, in 1598, that they "shall bring it now unto the Smithie Doare" to be sold. The market place in 1555 was at the lower end of Market Street.

Next we meet with the market lookers of fysshe and of white meytte (veal, pork, lamb, &c.). For white meate the

^{*}The bread prices by *public assizes* were kept up from 1266 to 1822 in London, and to 1836 in the rest of the country.

sellers had assigned to themselves the Marketstid, Marketstid lane, the Mylnegate, Deansgate, Huntsbank, Withingreave, where they had their "standings and fleshborders." The swine, of course, was of paramount importance, and formed the chief food of the town's people. We read in 1567 of Richard Raynshay, the swineherde, who was appointed by the Court, and whose business it was to drive all the swine of Manchester to Collyhurst Common at a fixed time in the morning, and returning in the evening blowing his horn, when every proprietor had to take care to have them properly housed in the swynecots, so that they would "not run abroad in the Hygh Street," or "lie down in the night in the Churchyard."

Butter, cheese, eggs, and other victuals were sold at the Smithie doare and other places in the open market, and any attempt of forstalling or regrating was properly fined.

In 1568 we also find an officer appointed for ffruytes (fruit). An important office was that of the alefounders or aleconners to examine the brews and ale measures of the town. There was the officer to check any excess or riot caused by undue drinking. Special fines and orders were made for unlawful games, ales, and weddings. There were so many ales in the course of a year, as Church ales, Scot ales, Court ales, Whitsun ales, including the celebration of the Rushbearing, that, no doubt, it took the beadle all his time to keep lawful order.

A special delicacy of the town and the Lancashire people was the eel, for which the Irk was celebrated; the fishing in the water of the Irk is already mentioned in 1473. The eel-pie or "snig poy," is already sung in the "Warrikin Fair" (Warrington Fair), in 1548, "he gen me a lunchin' o' denty snig poy." Another dainty was the egg pie and the apple, of which Fynes Moryson, in 1589, says that the Lancashire men "are to be wonne by egge

pies and an apple with a red side," or, as John Ray has it in his English proverbs (1672):

He that would take a Lancashire man at any time or tide Must bait his hook with a good egg-pie, or an apple with a red side.

The first reference to tea and coffee in the town occurs in 1702. We know, from Whitworth's Manchester Magazine, that in 1749 town people were offered: Good plain Bohea at 5s. 6d., fine 6s.; Congo 6s. 6d., finer 7s. 6d., finest 8s.; second Peco 8s. 6d.; Souchong 9s., finest 11s.; fine Hyson green 15s., finest 18s.; while good roasted coffee sold at 4s. to 5s., very fine Turkey 6s., super fine 7s.; chocolate 4s. to 4s. 6d.

In 1783 the coffee was roasted in the Coffee Roasting House. The earliest "old coffee house" I find alluded to is in 1741, the St. Ann's Coffee House.

Butter fetched, in 1740, 6d. a lb., old cheese 23s. to 24s. and new cheese 15s. to 17s. per cwt. in 1738, in 1760 $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. a lb.; beef at 2d. a lb., a neck of mutton (a "rack" of mutton in the dialect) at 9d.; beef, in 1771, 3d. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. a lb., mutton $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 4d., butter 7d. to 8d., potatoes 5s. to 6s. 240 lb.*

White wheat runs from 17s. to 18s. a load of 20 Winchester pecks, red wheat 15s. to 16s. a load, meal 14s. to 14s. 6d. for 12 score weight, oats 11s. to 12s. for 36 pecks, beans 12s. to 13s. for 20 pecks, in 1738; barley 10s. to 14s. 6d. for 20 pecks, in 1745; oatmeal 15s. to 16s. for 20 pecks, in 1754; malt 23s. a load, in 1760.

The Manchester Guide, 1804, says: "The quantity of oatmeal, butter, cheese, potatoes, and other vegetables brought to town on Saturday is no less a matter of

^{*} We read in the Manchester Magazine, June 14th, 1757: "A mob, chiefly woman, lads, and girls, rose last Tuesday in the Potatoe Market, on account of a man refusing to take 10s. a load for his potatoes."

surprise, especially when it is considered that the country to the east and north of Manchester contributes nothing to the market. The quantity of *oatmeal* exposed there for sale on that day is matter of astonishment to persons from the southern counties, where that kind of meal is only used as an addition to broth or to make gruel."

It is stated in the Encyclopædia Britannica that "in many parts of England it is the custom for private families to bake their own bread, and particularly so in Kent and in some parts of Lancashire. In 1804 the town of Manchester with 90,000 inhabitants did not contain a single public baker" (vol. iii., pages 250, 251).

The fish offered in the market consisted of salmon from the Ribble; sparlings, herrings, sole, fluke, &c., from the north-west coast; and haddock, cod, and lobster from the Yorkshire coast. The cheese market was situated in Hanging Ditch, the apple vendors were located in Fennel Street, the potato dealers at Shudehill, corn was exposed in Fennel Street, meal or flour in Market Street Lane; butter, poultry, eggs, in Smithy Door; fish in the new market hall, Pool Fold, Market Place, and St. Mary's Gate; and vegetables and smaller fruit at the upper end of Smithy Door.

The three annual fairs formerly held in the town were: Whit Monday, St. Matthew, September 21st, November 6th; horses, horned cattle, cloth, bedding, on Saturday, with a very good market on Saturdays (1751).

COOKERY IN EARLY VICTORIAN DAYS.

Mrs. T. Letherbrow, in the City News, 20th April, 1901, gives a very pleasant sketch of the typical English fare in early Victorian days in the middle-class families of Lancashire and Yorkshire which I may subjoin, because

it well illustrates a phase of economical life now almost extinct. "We have," she says, "to leave out of the question the cheap tea and dining rooms. The men mostly dined at home and large families were reared entirely under the paternal roof. For plain, thrifty, good living there was no better example than that in the West Riding of Yorkshire. But there, as well as in Lancashire, the mistress prided herself on being the head cook. I recollect that the late Sir William Brooks prided himself greatly upon a certain north-country dish styled a 'medcalf,' made of calf's heart, liver, and lungs, which was a sort of haggis. In the houses of the middle class the fare was abundant and nutritious. There was oatmeal porridge and milk twice a day for the younger branches. The dinner was mostly a joint of prime English meat roasted at an open fire; the Yorkshire pudding first 'set' in the oven was browned at the same open fire and received the drippings of the joint. Pies, tarts, and teacakes were always on hand. They were made on Friday, the weekly baking day, when the brown and white loaves were baked. There was a variety of puddings. In many houses the table beer was brewed at home and treacle-beer for the children. My own father and his brother never drank tea nor coffee until their sixteenth year; milk was their beverage, and they throve upon it. The only baker in our town confined himself to 'fancy bread,' for every servant knew something about baking common bread. The cellar and pantry were not allowed to get empty. There was no hand-to-mouth buying of tinned meat or canned fish, and no baker to run to in emergency. The housewife had to be beforehand with a couple of flitches and a ham, half a load of flour, a load or two of potatoes. and a stock of apples, bought when they were cheap, and did not trust the butcher to hang her joints, but saw them matured under her own eye. A leg of Craven mutton that had been hung two or three weeks, boned and stuffed, with brown gravy and flowery potatoes, was a thing to remember. So was the corned brisket of beef. It took a fortnight to prepare—first being rubbed with brown sugar, and then daily with a small dose of salt, turned over and wiped at every operation, and kept in a cool, dry pantry. How busy the women were!"

FOOD AND DRINK.

WALES, 1770.

The manner of living of the lower classes of people is extremely poor. The chief of their subsistence being barley and oat bread. They scarcely ever eat flesh or drink anything but milk (Letters from Snowdon, London, 1770, p. 37). Their victuals are exceedingly poor. Fresh animal food or wheat-bread, is a luxury which very rarely appears on their table. Even the pigs which they rear are sold, either to pay the rent or to meet some other demand; consequently that coarsest of all animal food is but seldom enjoyed by them. Barley-bread, herrings, butter-milk and potatoes, weak tea with little or no sugar in it, are the ingredients which compose their food. unfavourable season, on the death of one of their cattle, casts a gloom over the whole family (Prize Essay on the Character of the Welsh as a Nation in the present age, by the Rev. Wm. Jones, 1841.)

ANCIENT IRISH.

"From the frequent reference to oatmeal and porridge there can be little doubt that the kind of corn most generally grown was oats. Barley was also cultivated not only for making bread, but also for making malt. Oatmeal and barley-meal cakes appear to have been unleavened, and to have been prepared as now by mixing the meal with sweet milk or butter milk, so as to make a stiff dough. which was fashioned into flat cakes. The wheatmeal and barley-meal cakes were baked upon a griddle, but the oatmeal cakes, called Bocaire and Blethach, were always baked in an upright position before the fire by means of a three-pronged forked stick. The cakes of bread were called Bairgins (Manx berreen). There were different sizes of these cakes, but three are mentioned in the laws: the Bairgin ferfuine, the Bairgin Banfuine, and the Bairgin indriuc, the former double the size of the latter. The larger representing the ration of the man, the smaller that of a woman, the third was the whole cake, kept whole for guests, before whom no cut loaf shall be placed.

"Meal prepared from highly kiln-dried oats, mixed with new milk or sweet thick milk, or boiled with water into stirabout, was also much used. Coarsely-ground meal of this kind was called Grus and Gruth, and the food prepared from it Gruten, gruth being almost identical with the Anglo-Saxon grut. Oatmeal formed also an important constituent of the porridge, which was one of the chief articles of food in Ireland. When made with water in which meal was boiled it was the bruth or broth, the simple porridge as well as the broth were seasoned with leeks. Leeks and onions were grown around the houses, and served as substitutes for pepper and other spices. The birur or water-cress was also used as a salad with meat. As the principal wealth of the Irish was in cattle, flesh meat and milk formed the most important part of the food of the aire class. Milk, skimmed milk, furnished butter, curds, and cheese, but the use of meat and butter was not universal and was restricted. Curds

was a favourite article of food of the ancient Irish. Part of the beef was eaten fresh, but a large part cured with salt. The cattle intended for curing were fattened in autumn and slaughtered on the approach of winter. The carcase was cut up, salted, and hung up to dry on hooks in the smoky air of the kitchen. Pork, like the beef, was also first salted, and hung up in the smoke. The house-fed pig appears to have been specially smoke-dried in the smoke of green wood, such as beech, ash, and white thorn. The smoke-cured hams and flitches were called Tineiccas. The Irish made also puddings prepared from the blood of pigs. Mucriucht appears to have been a black pudding of this kind, prepared with a little tansy, onions, salt, &c. The drisechan caorach is a pudding made of sheep's blood. Fish seems to have formed an important article of their food. The chief intoxicating drink of the ancient Irish, as of all northern European people, was beer, called in old Irish cuirm: later on also ól (a borrowed word probably from the old Norse). Another drink was the mede, probably made by dissolving honey in water as the Romans did" (see Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, O'Curry, 1873, vol. i., pages 363-77).

ABOUT 1600: ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND.

"The English husbandmen eate barley and rye brown bread, and prefer it to white bread, as abiding longer in the stomack, and not so soon digested with their labour" (p. 149).

The Scots: "Touching their diet, they eat much red colewort and cabbage, but little fresh meate, using to salt their mutton and geese, living most on corne and rootes, and not spending any great quantity of flesh. Myself was at

a knight's house, the table being more than halfe furnished with great platters of *porredge*, each have a *little* peece of *sodden meate*. They vulgarly eat harth cakes of oates. The better sort of citizens brew *ale*, their usual drink" (p. 155).

The Irish: "Their ordinary food for the common sort is of whit meates, and they eate cakes of oates for bread and drinke ale. At Cork I have seene with these eyes young nude maids grinding of corne with certaine stones to make cakes thereof." "The wild and meere Irish straine their milke through straw and devoure great morsels of beefe unsalted, and they eat commonly swine's flesh, seldom mutton. The foresaid wilde Irish doe not thresh their oates, but burne them from the straw, and so make cakes thereof, yet they seldome eate this bread. They willingly eate the hearb schamrock, being of a sharpe taste, neither have they any beere, nor yet any ale, but drink milke like nectar warmed with a stone first cast into the fier, or else beefe-broath mingled with milke." "They feede most on whitmeates and esteem for a great dainty sower curds, vulgarly called by them Bonaclabbe" (pp. 161-163).

(Fynes Moryson, 1566–1614, see his *Itinerary of Travels through Germany*, &c., 1617.)

GARSTANG, 1697.

"At Goscoyne, i.e., Garstang, which is half way from Preston to Lancaster, I was first presented with the clap bread, which is much talked of, made all of oats. I was surprised when the cloth was laid. They brought a great basket, such as one uses to undress children with, and set it on the table full of thin waffers, as big as pancakes, and so dry that they easily breake into shivers. But coming to dinner I found it to be the only thing I must eate for

bread. Ye taste of oate bread is pleasant enough, and where it's well made is very acceptable, but for ye most part it's scarce baked and full of dry flour on ye outside" (pub. 1888, Cecilia Fiennes, *Tour on a Side Saddle through England*, 1697, p. 156).

NEWCHURCH, ROSSENDALE, 1750.

"To New Church, in Lancashire, I had sent my horses by a boy about 13 years old. He was a pretty handy youth, and giving him of the provisions I had brought he came and sat down close by me on a settle. He told me that oatcake and buttermilk was their common food; that on a festival they had a piece of meat and a pye-pudding; that his father paid £6 a year, kept a horse, 3 cows, and 40 sheep; that his father and he wove woollen both for their clothing and to sell; which I mention as an instance of their manner of living in these remote mountainous parts" (The Travels through England, by Dr. Rich. Pococke, during 1750, 1757, and later years, vol. i., pp. 203-4. Camden Society, 2 vols., 1888).

WALTON, LANCASHIRE, c. 1754.

"The grain principally cultivated was then and is now oats, which when ground to meal is the food of the labouring class, particularly in the northern and eastern borders of the county. It is made into bread-cakes, either leavened or unleavened, and rolled very thin; also water boiled and thickened with meal into porridge; and this eaten with sweet or butter milk. Small beer sweetened with treacle, or treacle only, was in many families, about forty years ago, both the breakfast and supper meal. This custom was so rigorously observed by a certain

family of three brothers, the last of which died only in 1792, that upon Sunday morning they made a double portion of porridge, one half of which was left for the supper meal. They lived chiefly on the produce of their own land, they brewed their own ale, and a couple of swine, fed and slaughtered by themselves, supported the family the whole year with flesh meat, except occasionally some neighbour might kill a beast for sale" (General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancashire, p. 56, by John Holt, London, 1794).

FYLDE DISTRICT, ABOUT 1757.

"Not more than eighty years ago [1757] it was esteemed opulence to plant one half bushel of potatoes; and at Christmas time he who could boast that he possessed in the oaken 'kist' a bushel of wheat was a man of importance in his neighbourhood; boiled parsneps and French beans were the principal vegetables, not of the cottager or farmer only, but of the gentry, even on gala days. Bean, barley, and rye bread was the food of the commonalty, wheat bread being then rarely used except by the rich. Jannocks were eaten with zest by the hungry labourers" (History of Blackpool, p. 83, by the Rev. W. Thornber, Poulton, 1837).

SOUTH LANCASHIRE, ABOUT 1800.

"Farms were mostly cultivated for the production of milk, butter, and cheese, and oats also, for the family's consumption in the form of porridge and oaten cakes, and a small patch of potatoes." "The almost universal breakfast of the working classes, and of the middle classes too, consisted of oatmeal porridge and milk, with an oaten 'butter cake,' or a piece of cheese and oatcake. For dinner dumplings, boiled meat, broth, and oaten bread; potato pies were not uncommon, mixed with beef or mutton. In the afternoon oatcake and cheese or butter, or oatcake and butter-milk for 'bagging;' and for supper the same as breakfast" (The Dialect of South Lancashire, pp. iv and ix, Sam Bamford, published 1854).

FARM LABOURERS IN DERBYSHIRE, 1814-1820.

"I saw a good deal of Dovedale at that early period. The labourers on the farms were badly paid and 12/- per week was the wage of a confidential servant. These men lived in their own homes. At harvest time, when extra work had to be done, they got help in the way of small beer, bread and cheese, or potatoes. Sometimes a gooseberry pie with oatcake crust. The bottom of the pie was a large rounded thick oatcake, $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{5}{8}$ inches thick. Upon this was placed a tolerably thick layer of gooseberries, upon which was a layer of treacle. The upper crust of the pie was another oatcake like the first. Near Buxton, in 1819, the farmer lived for the most part as the rest of the household did, with the exception of the tea, which was sweetened with treacle. A white loaf was an extremely rare thing. Oatcake was the chief food from day to day, with black bread occasionally. Bacon, in some form or other, was the principal animal food. Potatoes and milk were in unlimited quantity. For the evening meal we had frequently a large deep dish full of mashed potatoes, with a depression in the middle of the mess for milk" (City News, No. 3,263, 6th October, 1883, Thos. Brittain).

WESTMORLAND, 1825.

"The breakfast was commonly hasty pudding, an oaten pottage, with beer, milk, or butter. In the afternoon clapbread, a broad, thin, hard cake, and cheese, with beer or milk. The bigg or bere (barley) was chiefly made into malt and each family brewed its own ale. During the hay harvest the women drank 'whey-whig,' a sharp beverage, made by infusing mint or sage into butter-milk whey. A mess made of ale, boiled with fine wheaten bread or figs, sweetened with sugar, called Fig-sue, was the dinner for Good-Friday. The summer provisions were boiled animal food and the produce of the dairy. Garden vegetables, except onions and a few savoury herbs used in broth, were little known. For want of green fodder, the supply of fat cattle failed in the early part of winter, and the food of this season consisted, therefore, in a great measure in dried beef and mutton and in bacon. Poultry and geese were kept in pens till about the latter end of February; and in the festive season of Christmas as many pies, made of flour of wheat, and containing goose, mutton, or sweetmeats, were baked, as served the family for a month or six weeks. Thin half-fed veal made its appearance in March. This sort of winter provisions caused agues to be prevalent here in spring. But the introduction of tea, potatoes, and wheat, and new modes of agriculture have nearly prevailed over the old system and agues have disappeared. The introduction of tea has made a complete revolution in the constitutions of English people. Our light watery food has banished those inflammatory fevers, which formerly raged with such violence, and another order of maladies has usurped their place. Nervous disorders and apoplexies are much more prevalent" (Westmorland as it was, pp. 7, 8, 35, and 38, by John Briggs, 1825).

CUMBERLAND, 1828.

"The repast of the Cumbrian rustic at noon generally consisted of a crowdy or cow'd lword and a piece of bacon. If the bacon be boiled, he sups the broth; if fried, he pours the melted fat among his potatoes. A cow'd lword is a cant name for a pudding composed of oatmeal. tallow, suet, and hog's lard. A crowdy is made of oatmeal and the marrow of beef or mutton bones. When potatoes solely constitute the dinner, the mess is more than usually large. After boiling some time, they are beaten and mashed by a club-headed wooden tatochopper, and the whole mass placed upon the platter. In the centre of this fuming pile is a cavity filled with melted butter, or the fat of bacon, into which every one merges his spoon or whittle loaden with potatoes. The breakfast and supper consist of thick pottage, a kind of food made of oatmeal and water. The general bread of the peasantry is composed of barley, fermented with dough, and baked in an oven. In the parts bordering on Scotland a sort of barley and oat cakes, called scons and bannocks are used. Whiskey diluted with water is the common beverage of the rustic inhabitants of the north of Cumberland, and they have a kind of cheese, called Whyllymer, or Rosley Cheshire; very poor and hard-rinded" (see Ballads in the Cumberland Dialect, by R. Anderson, Carlisle, 1828).

ISLE OF MAN, 1648.

Their diet is sparing and simple, their drink water and butter-milk; their meat consists of herrings, salt, butter, and oatcakes, thin as paper leaves, yet as broad and large as those of Wales. Beer and ale they only take in the market. The meal of servants consists of two boiled herrings, one entire oatcake and butter, with milk and water to drink (History of Isle of Man, Blundell, 1648, published by the Manx Society).

The food chiefly consisted of oatmeal and milk for breakfast; potatoes and fish or salt herring in the winter for dinner, and sometimes beef and broth, made up of shelled barley, cabbage, leeks, onions, potatoes, and parsnips, all mashed together. Sometimes potatoes and beans mashed. Potatoes and white cabbage mashed for dinner and fresh fish. Sometimes potatoes in the jacket and fish, with plenty of butter-milk and cowree or sowans for supper. Sollaghyn consisted of porridge and meat broth. Binjean, milk turned to curd, with rennet or steep, was taken on Sunday nights. A fine dish was the prinjeig or haggis pluck, the liver chopped up and stuffed with chopped onion, groats, pepper and salt, and potatoes. They had also bonnacks and oaten and barley cakes, and in the village killed a quarter or half a beef or pig amongst themselves. They used to drink Manx ale (personally, from Cregneish, Rushen, Isle of Man).

WESTERN HEBRIDES, 1793.

"Their cakes are made of barley-meal and toasted against a stone placed upright before a good fire, and sometimes, when either haste or hunger impels them, they are laid on the ashes, with more ashes above, to bake them more quickly. They burn the straw of the sheaf to make the oats dry for meal,* and, though the grain is black by

^{*}The following description illustrates the Hebridean peasant more minutely: "A woman sitting down takes a handful of corn, holding it by the stalks in her left hand, and then sets fire to the ears, which are presently in a flame. She has a stick in her right hand, which she manages very dexterously, beating off the grain at the very instant when the husk is quite burnt, for if she miss of that she must use the kiln; but experience has taught them this art to perfection. The corn may be so dressed, winnowed, ground, and baked within an hour after reaping from the ground" (A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, page 639, by M. Martin, 1703, collected by Pinkerton).

the ashes and the meal coloured, yet it is not unpleasant to taste. This, with most of their oatmeal, they grind on braahs or querns. The people eat twice a day. The first meal is called deinnar or breakfast, the last is their supper. They seldom breakfast before II o'clock, and the supper, when night drives them home from their labours, is placed before them. Potatoes and fish generally make up their first meal, and the whole family commonly eat out of one dish, called the claar, three to four feet in length, and one and half feet in breadth, and made of deal. They place the straw or grass on the bottom, and pour out the potatoes and fish above that stratum, which they generally collect carefully with the fragments for some favourite cow. Their last meal is generally made up of brochan (a kind of water gruel). boiled mutton with bread and potatoes at their own houses, if in any tolerable circumstances, and under mild masters; but no such luxuries are to be met with in any other kitchen, nor can it be expected in the families of the oppressed. They must search for cuddies or such fish as are on the coasts, such as cod, dogfish, saith, skait, &c. Indeed, all the Scots, even to the fourteenth century, were strangers to the luxuries of life. When Randolf, earl of Murray, and Sir James Douglas, in the reign of Robert Bruce, invaded the north of England the Scots left some hundred bags made of deerskin, all full of water and flesh for the use of men, and a thousand wooden spits, with meat on which it was roasted. Nay, I spoke with a man who saw the chief boiling a bag full of meat with a gentle fire held below, while he constantly rubbed the bottom with grease fastened to a stick to keep it from burning" (Of the Genius, Customs, &c., of the Western Hebrides, 1793. Hibernian Magazine, pp. 502-5).

LOWLANDS, SCOTLAND.

"In the north thousands of these querns or primitive hand-mills for grinding the meal are still in use. They cost 3s. 6d. to 5s. each. The ground has been cropped from time immemorial in a rotation of oats, pease, and bear or bigg. White oats came to supersede the old grev variety, while wheat was raised only in the Lothians and carse-lands even near the close of the eighteenth century. Little progress could be made anywhere until alternating husbandry was rendered possible by the introduction of rye grass, and clover, turnips, and potatoes, and these were the agents in transforming the face of the country and the entire rural economy. The change began at the close of the Seven Years' War, in 1763, but culminated in the high prices that prevailed during the long wars with France. The sowing of grasses and clover spread very slowly, and the people looked upon such improvement as a freak. Turnips were introduced into Scotland about 1760. Under such conditions butcher's meat was not in condition till August, and for winter supplies a 'mart' had to be killed at Martinmas and kept in pickle. Even in the capital it was little used. The potato even made slower progress than the turnip. The way was said to have been barred by the Presbyterian prejudice that it was never mentioned in the Bible. In the Lothians it came in about 1740, the year of the dearth, from Ireland, but was confined to gardens till about 1754, when it was planted in the fields about Aberlady. The staple dinner dish was kail. Round every cottage was the kailyard; little else but kail or open cabbage was grown in it; latterly such additions were made as gooseberry bushes, thyme, southernwood, balm, mint, and camomile. Water kail or barefoot broth, that is, without meat, was a Teutonic

dish, for the Highlanders of old abominated the plant as fit only for goats. In default of kitchen or meat were used butter, cheese, herring, or raw onions from Flanders. This dish was sometimes made of greens and grolls (oats stripped of the husks in the mill), for pot-barley was difficult to procure. Wheaten bread drove out the only other staple food, oatmeal cakes, just as the latter had superseded the still older barley, "bear," and pease. In Monteith tenants sat at table with their servants, and oatmeal porridge was thought a luxury among them, bearmeal being used. In every house was an iron girdle for baking cakes. The staple breakfast dish was porridge and milk, and for supper sowens. Bread and milk, oat and barley meal, and vegetables formed the chief part of every day's fare. Animal food was seldom seen" ("Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century," James Colville, Blackwood's Magazine, October, 1892, pp. 476, 484).

FAROE ISLANDS.

The food of the Faroese is principally barley-meal or groats, milk, flesh, and fish; whilst bread, beer, and salt are reckoned among articles of luxury. The breakfast consists in general of barley bread, with milk or fat, and in autumn, when lambs are killed, of their blood boiled with milk.* Dinner is formed of fish and water gruel, in which bones or suet has been boiled, or of soup made of meat and turnip leaves. On holidays a large pot is put on the fire, in which sea birds are boiled for supper. Among their greatest delicacies they reckon dried lamb, eaten raw with tallow,† and dried whalefish, which is also eaten fresh. Several kinds of sea fowl are used, of which

^{*} Like the old Scythians.

[†]There is a progressive and intense use of fat and tallow in the more northern latitudes to be noticed.

the puffins are thought the best, to which they also add the guillemots and young cormorants. The quantity of fat consumed by them is enormous.

Their breakfast, morgenmead, consists of barley bread and milk or fat, and in the slaughtering time of sveiti, or lamb's blood coagulated and boiled together with fleytir, or milk thickened by twirling in it a piece of stick. Dinner, middagsmad or dovere, consists of halibut, or the heads of cod-fish, dried, soaked, or fresh; a second dish is a kind of soup of water and oatmeal, boiled with some bones, tallow, or a lamb's tail. It is drunk. Supper, aftens maden or nottere, is the most important meal, and eaten at nine o'clock. It consists of barley-meal pottage and milk, fresh fish, or the before-mentioned soup or milk. In winter, when no milk can be had, a kind of meat soup, thickened with meal and roots, is used instead. The usual drink is milk or meal-soup, and, if the latter be not at hand, pure water (A Description of the Feroe Islands, by the Rev. G. Landt, London, 1810, p. 874-876).

ICELAND.

"Fish, fresh or salted, and the flesh or milk of their flocks or herds are the staple articles of their diet, to which is occasionally added a few vegetables or meal imported from abroad. The gardens are small, and contain only the more hardy plants, as cabbage, white and yellow turnips, potatoes, and a little salad. Milk is prepared in various ways; in a sour or curdled state, and mixed with water, it is their common drink and is called syre; whilst thick milk or skier is their principal food. They use butter in immense quantities, and prefer it unsalted and very old, when it has a sour taste. When this fails, they supply its place with tallow, but seldom make cheese, and what little they do produce is very

inferior" (see An Historical and Descriptive Account of Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands, Edinburgh, 1840).

JANNOCK.

- 1500. Chester Plays: "Ianock of Lancachyre."
- 1584. Cogan: "Of oaten they made bread, some in broad loaves, which they cal jannocks."
- 1586. "Jannock should weigh 13 oz. troy weight."—
 Hollingworth, History of Manchester.
- 1616. "The servants eating the jannock."—Shuttleworth Accounts.
- 1626. "A jannocke or loafe made only of oaten meale = avenaceum."—Rider's English-Latin Dictionary.
- 1631. "Anacks, jannacks."—Markham, English Housewife.
- 1647. "A jannock = een haver broodt."—Hexham's English-Dutch Dictionary.
- 1659. "Jannocks=pan d'avena."—Gio. Torriano's (Professor of the Italian Tongue, London) *Dictionary*, *Italian-English*, London.
- 1660. "Jannock, oaten bread," Howell; and Rev. John Ray: "Oaten bread made into great loaves."
- 1660. "The oaten cakes of the North, the janocks of Lancashire, the grues of Cheshire."
- 1686. "Gannok."—Manchester Court Leet Records.
- 1678. "Jannock, a loaf made of oats = avenacium."— Dr. Littleton's English-Latin Dictionary.
- 1717. "Jannock, oaten bread."—E. Cole's English Dictionary.
- 1720. "Jannock, a kind of oaten bread in the North."— Ed. Phillips, The World of New Words.
- 1725. "Paid 1s. for a new cheese and a janock."—Rev. P. Walkden.

1724. "Jannock."-N. Bailey's English Dictionary.

1728. "Jannock."—Boyes' Royal Dictionary.

1737. "Sixpenny jannocks."—Bury.

1746. "A tuppunny jannock."—Tim Bobbin.

1760. "Price 12d. for 15 lb. jannock."

1775. "Jannock, a flat and broad loaf, made of oats or peace."—Whitaker's History of Manchester.

FOX HALL, BLACKPOOL: SOME PRICES, 1712-1714.

Neck of veal, 2s.; beef, 34 lb. 5s. = 2d. a lb.; quarter mutton, 1s. 6d.; neck of mutton and calve's head, 1s.; two salmon, 6d.; two woodcockes, 1s.; six king crookenosed ducks, 2s. 6d.; a 100 weight of cheese, 4s., from Wigan, about ½d. a lb.; a pint of ale, 2d.; collifflower and Savoy plants, 1s. 6d.; 40 coll. flowr., 1s.; butter and two chicken, 1s.; brandy and sweet soap, 7d.; sugar and candles, 1s.; strawberries, 6d.; black cherries, 5d.; raspberries, 2s.; a new cheese and janocke, 1s.; a wheat cake, 5d.; "pottetow setts," 2s.; "tobaco," 2d. (? per 1 oz.); pipes, 1d.; bushell of salt, 4s. (see *Tyldesley Diary*, during 1712-1714, Preston, 1873).

MARKET PRICES, MANCHESTER.

Lancashire Journal, Manchester, published by John Berry, 16th October, 1738. Prices of corn and cheese at Manchester:—

White wheat, from 17s. 18s. per load 20 Winchester pecks.
Red wheat 15s. 16s. .,,
Meal 14s. 14s. 6d. per 12 score weight.
Oats 11s. 12s. 36 pecks.
Beans 12s. 13s. 20 ,,
Old cheese 23s. 24s. per cwt.
New ,, ... 15s. 17s. ,,

 12th Jan., 1740.
 December, 1740.

 Butter 6d. per lb. ... 7d. 9d. per lb.
 7d. 9d. per lb.

Manchester Magazine:-

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      13th Aug., 1745.
      7th May, 1745.

      Wheat
      ... 18s. 20s.
      ... 16s. 18s. per load of 20 Winchester pecks.

      Barley
      ... 10s. 14s. 6d.
      ... 12s. 15s. 6d.
      20

      Oats
      ... 15s. 17s.
      ... 16s. 19s.
      36

      Meal
      ... 18s. 21s.
      ... 19s. 21s.
      12 score.

      Beans
      ... 13s. 15s. 6d.
      ... 14s. 6d. 15s. 6d.
      20 pecks.
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Whitworth's Manchester Magazine. Prices of grain at Manchester, 1754:—

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Feb. 5. Feb. 9. Feb. 23. Mar. 9. Mar. 30. Ap. 27.

Wheat ... 23s. 24s. per load.*

Oatmeal . 15s. 16s. 21s. 22s. 6d. 22s. 22s. 20s. 21s. 20s. 21s. 22s. 20 pecks.

Oats ... 15s. 17s. 15s. 18s. 15s. 17s. 15s. 16s. 17s. 19s. 36 ,,

Beans ... 16s. 18s. 16s. 18s. 17s. 18s. 16s. 18s. 17s. 18s. 20 ,,

Barley ... — — — — 14s. 15s. 15s. 16s. 15s. 17s. 16s. 17s. 20 ,,
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Prices, 1760, from Compendious History of the Cotton Manufacture, pp. 10, 11, by Richard Guest, Manchester, 1823:—

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Oats ... ... ... 2s. per bushel of 45 lb.
Wheat ... ... 5s. ,, 70 lb.
Meal ... ... 2os. per load.
Jannock ... ... 1s. ,, 15 lb.
Malt ... ... 23s. ,, load.
Cheese ... ... 2½d. ,, lb.
Beef ... ... 2d. ,, lb.
Neck of mutton ... 9d.
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Whitworth's Manchester Magazine, 25th March, 1760:-

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      Wheat
      ...
      208. 218.

      Barley
      ...
      128. 138.

      Meal
      ...
      148. 158.

      Oats
      ...
      128. 148.

      Beans
      ...
      128. 148.
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Manchester Mercury, 5th November, 1765. Prices of corn at Manchester on 2nd November:—

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Wheat ... ... 31s. per load 20 Winchester pecks.

Meal ... ... 29s. 30s. 12 score weight.

Oats ... ... 23s. 24s. 36 pecks.

Barley ... ... 18s. 20 pecks.

Beans ... ... 19s. 20 ,,
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^{*} Winchester pecks.

Market prices in 1771, from Manchester Banks and Bankers, L. H. Grindon, 1877:—

TEA, COFFEE, AND CHOCOLATE PRICES, MANCHESTER.

Manchester Magazine, 6th June, 1749. Tea prices as given, sold by John Gibson, at the Old Boar's Head, Hyde's Cross:—

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Good plain Bohea ... 5s. 6d.
Finer
        ... ... 6s.
            ... ... 6s. 6d.
Congo
        ...
Finer ... ... 7s. 6d.
       ... ... ... 8s.
Finest
Finest Peco ... 8s. 6d.
Souchong ... ...
                   ... gs.
               ...
       finest
               ... ... IIS.
Fine Hyson green ...
                   ... I5S.
Finest
        ... ... ... 18s.
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Purchased in the Exchequor at Edinburgh and Customhouse of Leith, and will be sold 10 per cent under the London market.

March 7th (see Mercury), an association was formed for the protection of trade against smugglers, as coffee, chocolate, &c., and "no coffee berries shall be roasted in any other place than the one of the Roasting House." In 1784, May 18th, it says in the same paper, "A public Coffee Roasting House in York will also roast at 8s. per cwt., the price fixed by Parliament. Wm. Tuke & Son, tea dealers."

The Mercury publishes in its issue of the 29th April, 1783, prices of Teas, Coffee, &c., of the late East India Company's sale, as sold by Eagleton, teaman, at his original tea warehouse, the Grasshopper, 9, Bishopsgate Street, near Cornhill, London:—

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Best common Bohea ... ... ... 4s. 8d. per lb., ordinary lower.
Good Congou ... ... ... ... 5s. 6d., 6s.
Fine and very fine Souchong ... 7s. and 8s.
Superfine Padra, best imported ... 10s.
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Best common green tea 5s. 8d., ordinary lower.

Good, fine and superfine, plain Singlo's
and blooms 6s. 4d., 7s. 8d., and 9s.

Good and fine, plain, green or Hyson tea 10s., 10s. 6d., 11s., and 12s.

Very fine plain green and Hyson ... 13s. 6d.

Superfine ditto, best imported ... 16s.

Curious Gunpowder and Cowslip tea ... 17s.

Good roasted coffee 4s., 5s.

Very fine ditto, such as is sold for
Turkey 6s.

Superfine Turkey 6s.

Good plain chocolate 4s.

Fine and superfine 4s.

Fine and superfine 4s. 6d. and 5s.

LIST OF POTATOES CULTIVATED IN LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,

As given by H. Kirkpatrick, Park Lane, near Wigan, in his "An Account of the Manner in which Potatoes are cultivated and preserved and the Uses to which they are applied in the Counties of Lancaster and Chester, &c., Warrington, 1796:—

EARLY KINDS.—Smooth Yellow, Red Champions, White Champions, Lady Queen, Drunken Landlord, Birchall Golden Yellow, Smith's Seedlings, Tox's Seedlings, Boskow's Kidneys, English Champions, Briton's Dwarfs, Bates' Dwarfs, Mather's Seedlings, Kirkham Marbles, Poor Man's Profit, Golden Galleons, Invincible, Broughton's Dwarfs, Hatley's Nonsuch, Early Perrins, Early Manleys.

LATE KINDS.—America White Rangers, America Red Rangers, Darbyshire Reds, Late Champion, Late Kidneys, Pink Eye, Pink-nosed Kidney, Oxnoble, Lords, Balmer's Seedlings, Budworth's Dusters, Irish Apples, Winter Kidneys.

Above is a list of the potatoes most in use here, though not containing all that are known in every part of this county.

DIALECT NAMES OF THE POTATO.

Prato, Bolton; also porato, porratoes.

"Some scores o' loades o' pink-eyed porratoes" (Staton).

"To sell pratoes un potty yerb" (Staton).

"Put together a prato pie, the potato-trap (= the mouth)" (Staton).

Potates (Ramsbotham, Laycock).

Pratoes, Blackburn, Preston.

Prata, Fylde (Thornber).

Tatoes, Cheshire and Cumberland.

Tateys, Wakefield.

Tatties, Scotland.

Taties, Clyde.

Potaty, Shetland.

Priddas, praase, puddase, Manx.

Buntatas, Gaelic.

Bwytaten, plural bwytatwys

Bytaten

Taten

Tatysen

- Welsh.

Taters, London; also murphy.

Praties, Ireland.

Spuds; murphy, another Lancashire word for some qualities.

In Ireland we have the Wicklow Bangers, Red-Nosed Kidney, Judy Brown's Fancy, Barbarous Wonders, Long Cork Reds, Connaught Lumpers, Long Fingers (see Dublin Penny Journal, vol. i., p. 58, 1832).



HORNBOOKS AND ABC'S:

NOTE ON AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY HORNBOOK, NOW IN THE SALFORD ROYAL MUSEUM, AND AN ITALIAN ABC, PRINTED AT PARMA, WITH THE DATE OF 1477, NOW IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

WITH AN APPENDIX ON NUREMBERG ALPHABETICAL TOKENS, BY W. S. CHURCHILL.

A HORNBOOK is the name given to a copy of the alphabet, with or without the addition of the Lord's Prayer and other matter, printed on one side of a small sheet, fastened to a piece of wood or metal, and protected by a sheet of transparent horn. The name is, perhaps, not very happily chosen, for it lays stress upon an accident or adjunct, and ignores the essential character of the document. The characteristic fact of the hornbook is that it is a first aid to the art of reading, and such alphabets must have been in use long before the strip of horn was added as a means of protecting them from too rapid destruction by infant fingers. The name is, indeed, often used for a child's primer, even when destitute of horn or other transparent shield. An alternative name for the first aid to reading was battledore. The folding battledore made of cardboard was invented by Benjamin

Collins, a printer, in 1746. The battledore was originally a beetle or bat used in washing, and from the similarity in shape the word was also applied to the small racket used in playing shuttlecock and to the hornbook. Thus in 1693 the terms battledore-boy and hornbook-boy are used as synonymous, as may be seen by reference to the Oxford English Dictionary.

The hornbook found an enthusiastic historian in the late Mr. Andrew William Tuer, of whose learned monograph there are two editions, both of which should be in the possession of the "complete collector," as they are not entirely identical.* The earliest record of a hornbookthat is, an alphabet faced with horn-Mr. Tuer dates about 1450, when Dame Thomasine Percivale records in her will that she had learned to read from a "book of horn," in Cornwall. The earliest literary quotation for the word in the Oxford English Dictionary is from Shakspere's Love's Labour's Lost (vol. i., 49), "Yes, yes, he teaches boys the hornbook." Mr. Tuer says, "No written and very few of the earliest printed hornbooks have been preserved." They continued to be used far into the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when they were gradually displaced by small pamphlets of alphabets and by the more highly developed spelling books.†

^{*}History of the Hornbook, by Andrew W. Tuer, F.S.A.; illustrated; London, Leadenhall Press, 1896; quarto, two vols. History of the Hornbook, by Andrew W. Tuer, F.S.A., with three hundred illustrations; London, Leadenhall Press, 1897; quarto, one vol. I add, to complete the bibliography, Catalogue of an extraordinary series of Leather Abacus, Hornbooks, and Lecterns, of remarkable style and workmanship of the seventeenth century, which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, 29th July, 1901; London, 1901; octavo, pp. 6, with seven illustrations.

[†]In addition to the evidence cited by Mr. Tuer, see a note by Mr. Edward Peacock in *Notes and Queries* (ninth series, vol. vi., 126), August 18th, 1900.

The use of the alphabet fastened on to a wooden tablet is mentioned in a fourteenth century poem preserved in the Harleian MS., 3,954:—

Quan a chyld to scole xal set be, A book to hym is browt, Nayled on a brede of tre That men call an abece, Pratylych i-wrout.

In "Est tu scholaris?" mention is made of the "tabula" on which was written the Lord's Prayer (A. W. Pollard: Some Old Picture Books, London, 1902, p. 101). The whole passage is curious:—

PRO TABULISTIS.

Scis tu tabulam. Scio. Quomodo incipit tabula. Pater noster qui es &c. Quid est tabula. Est liber prosaicus tractans de oratione dominicali & alijs sibi adiunctis a deo & sanctis compilatus. Quid est subiectum in tabula. Oratio dominicalis. Que est eius propria passio. Deuota vel indeuota. De quo tractatur in tabula. De fide catholica et orationibus dei sanctorum et sanctarum. Quid est fides. Est substantia rerum sperandarum, argumentum non apparentium habens.

No mention is made here of the protecting horn. Evidently the tablets were in some cases used for more than the mere alphabet. In the *Epigrammata* of Joh. Bapt. Cantalycius, printed at Venice in 1493, there is a cut representing a teacher or professor seated and with an open book. There is a row of pupils at a table to the right and another to the left; in the foreground are two younger children. All the figures have books before them, but on the floor is a tablet suggesting the familiar hornbook. There is a facsimile of this cut in Castellani's *L'Arte della Stampa* (1895, p. 94).*

From the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries literally millions of hornbooks must have been in use, but they

^{*}I have to thank Mr. A. W. Pollard for these two interesting references.

have perished in myriads, and so few remain that it is a matter of duty to record the localities of the few survivors of this great army of literature. The hornbook has attracted the attention of the antiquarian forger, and a number of spurious specimens are gibbetted by Mr. Tuer. There are various genuine examples in private collections, such as the magnificent library of the former President of this Society, the Earl of Crawford, at Haigh Hall.* Of

1. Tuer, cut 217, end of vol. ii. [? 1600.]

2. Raban's hornbooks. Tuer, i. 126 (cut 50). [? 1625.]

3. Tuer, ii. 153 (similar to cut 136). [? 1630.] 4. Tuer, cut 218, end of vol. ii. [? 1700.]

5. A large oak hornbook, alphabet of letters cut in high relief, J and U omitted and & added, Roman letter: Amen in large Gothic letter at foot beneath two fleurons; thirteen inches by six and one-eighth inches. [? 1700.]

6. Tuer, ii. 181 (cut 158). [? 1715.]

7. An ivory hornbook, two full alphabets and vowels incised on one side, the Lord's Prayer on the other, all in Roman letter, with a fleuron ornament on both sides of the handle immediately beneath the letters; three and a quarter inches by two and a half inches. Found under the flooring of an old house in Oxford. [? 1750.]

8. A Danish hornbook, cardboard, with the imprint "Reval hoos

Koehlers Anka, 1769."

9. Tuer, end of vol. ii. Like that shown in cut 148. [? 1770.]

10. A hornbook, oak, uncovered, two full alphabets of upper and lower case Roman letter, faced with horn and framed in metal, held by iron nails; three and three-eighths inches by two and threequarters inches. [? 1770.]

II. Tuer, second edition, p. 457 (ivory). [? 1770.]

12. Tuer, ii. 155 (cut 144). [? 1775.]

13. Four alphabets, large and small Roman and italic, on paper pasted on each side of a oblong strip of rosewood; three and three-quarters inches by five-eights inch. [? 1775.]

14. Tuer, ii. 265 (cuts 204, 205). 1778. 15. German hornbook. [? 1780.]

16. Tuer, ii. 266 (cuts 206, 207). [? 1786.]

17. A hornbook, cedar, uncovered, two full alphabets, vowels, syllabarium, invocation, Lord's Prayer, all in Roman letter, printed

^{*}By the kindness of Mr. J. P. Edmond, the Librarian of Haigh Hall, I am able to give a list of Lord Crawford's hornbooks, with the approximate dates and the references:—

public institutions the South Kensington Museum has the largest, for, by the acquisition of the collection made by Mr. Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie, it possesses eleven; the British Museum has three, one of which is spurious, and the Bodleian Library has three.*

The Salford Royal Museum is fortunate in the possession of a hornbook, which was presented to the institution many years ago by the Rev. C. Cooke. It is difficult to fix the date of a hornbook, especially after the Roman had displaced the Gothic letters. There are several hornbooks engraved in Mr. Tuer's volumes that closely resemble the Salford Museum specimen. The cross which stands at the beginning of the first line is Maltese in form, which is somewhat unusual. Mr. Tuer shows at cut 148 a hornbook identical with that preserved at Salford, but a comparison with cuts 19, 144, 157, and 158 will show how slight are the variations from a common type. There is so little data upon which to form a judgment that certainty is impossible, but the Salford hornbook is probably an early eighteenth century example. In this conjecture I am fortified by the agreement with it of our

on paper, faced with horn, framed in brass latten, held by iron nails; three and a quarter inches by two and a quarter inches. [? 1800.]

^{18.} Tuer, i. 117 (cut 45). [? 1800.]

^{19.} Tuer, ii. 6. Facsimile of Warwick Castle hornbook. [? 1840.]

^{20.} Tuer, ii. 265. Plaster cast only (cuts 208, 209).

^{21.} Hornbook issued in 1900, I think, by a London publisher.

^{22.} Four tokens. Tuer, i. 27 (cut 15). 23. Tuer, ii. 207 (cut 170). [? 1720.]

Mr. Edmond says: "It is possible that I have given too early dates to Nos. I and 3. No. 2 we know must have been printed between 1622-49. It is really the only certain data we have in dealing with this class of books."

^{*} Mr. Tuer's collection was sold at Sotheby's in July, 1900, when his forty-five hornbooks fetched £269. 5s. (see *Book Prices Current*, vol. xiv., p. 636).

fellow-member Mr. Ben H. Mullen, M.A., the courteous and accomplished curator of the Salford Museum. The cross disappears from the later examples, but is always found in the earlier ones, and appears to have been used with an invocation, "Christ's cross be my speed."* Hence, too, the hornbook and other ABC's are sometimes styled the "Christ's cross row." An interesting example of the use of this phrase is to be found in a unique broadside in the Chetham Library (Halliwell's Broadsides, No. 470). It is a translation of the "Mirror of Man's Life," by Francesca de Chaves, a Franciscan nun, who was burned as a heretic at Seville in 1560. This begins, "This godly crosserowe to Christians I send with hartie desire theire lives to amend."† It was printed at London in 1570, and it is curious to note that whilst the ampersand has a verse to itself, the sign of the cross is omitted, although, as we have seen, the name of the crossrow is retained. The Puritan objection to the symbolic use of the cross led to its omission from hornbooks and other documents. In "a great bundle of hornbooks taken to New England in 1632 the crosses were carefully blotted out 'for feare lest the people of the land should become idolaters." A writer in Bibliographica (vol. iii., p. 253) has given a technical reason for thinking that none of the hornbooks known now in existence are so old as the sixteenth century. The

*There is an allusion to this in the Sloane MS., 1,986, printed by Dr. F. J. Furnivall in the Babees Book, and dated by him about A.D. 1430-40.

[†] See a note by the present writer in *Notes and Queries*, September 4th, 1897. The poem in the Harleian MS. 3,954, already mentioned, is an alphabet-poem of about two hundred lines. Such poems occur in various languages. The "Altus" of St. Columba, which has been edited by the late Marquess of Bute (Edinburgh, 1882), is an instance in Latin, and Psalm cxix. is a familiar example in Hebrew.

[‡] See a review of Mr. Tuer's book in the New York Nation, August 13th, 1896, p. 129.

alphabets of that time usually ended with contractions for "and" and "con," and a "tittle" represented by three dots, which were supposed to be an allusion to the Trinity. These are all mentioned by Thomas Morley in his Introduction to Music (1608), when he composed a tune for the Christ-cross row. This is facsimiled by Tuer (cut 16). As not one of the hornbooks known to be in existence to-day contains the "con per se," it seems probable that they are all of a later date. But the rule is not absolute. There is in the John Rylands Library a very interesting book with leaves of the hornbook size. It is entitled, "An A, B, C. wyth a Catechisme . . . to be learned of euery chylde before he be brought to be confyrmd of thee Bysshoppe. Sette forth by thee Kinges Maiestye" (London, 1551.) In this the alphabet is followed by the ampersand and the "con," but in place of the "tittle" comes "est. Amen." In this particular copy, after the death of Edward VI., the references to the "Byshoppe of Rome" and to the king have been crossed out with a pen.

It may be a matter of local interest to know that "probably the oldest hornbook in existence" came from a Salford collection. It is a little plaque of lead with the letters of the alphabet on one side and a curious interwoven ornament on the other, cast from a pair of moulds closely resembling those found at Hartley Castle. It is engraved in cut 43, which should be compared with cut 41. This was at one time in the possession of Mr. Charles Bradbury, of the Crescent, Salford. After the dispersal of his large collection it came through an intermediate owner into my hands, and was sent by me to Mr. Tuer.

Mr. Tuer's book must always remain the great treasury of information on the subject of hornbooks, but there is

still something to be gleaned. There is an important note in Henry Bradshaw's Collected Papers (Cambridge, 1889, p. 333) on the ABC as an authorised school book in the sixteenth century, from which it appears that contemporaneous with the hornbook there was in use in some schools an ABC of a more elaborate kind.* That issued in 1538 by Thomas Petit contains in addition to the alphabet the Paternoster, Ave Maria, and Credo, both in Latin and English, as well as directions for a child serving at mass. In the foundation statutes of the Manchester Grammar School it is ordered that the high master shall "appoint one of the scholars to teach all infants that shall come there to learn their A B C primer, and forth till they begin grammar and every month to choose another new scholar so to teach infants." After the Reformation the Roman elements in this school book disappear and are replaced by matter in consonance with the religious changes that had occurred. This tradition of combining the alphabet with a small religious manual long prevailed, for Bradshaw mentions an ABC with the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, which was printed at Glasgow in 1852. Amongst my own books is a Swedish primer, printed at Helsingfors in 1832, which contains, in addition to the alphabet, prayers and other religious matter to be used in the training of children. On the last page is a very curious woodcut, in which Chanticleer, holding a pointer in one claw, points to a tablet with musical notes and the reversed letters AKAKA on it. The cock, as the emblem of wakefulness or

^{*}Since this note was in type the Bibliographical Society have issued Professor Foster Watson's elaborate essay on "The Curriculum and Text-Books of English Schools in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century" (*Transactions*, vol. vi., p. 159). This is an interesting and important contribution to the history of English education.

attention, is not uncommon on German alphabetical tablets. One is facsimiled by Mr. Tuer in cut 69.*

St. Jerome mentions that children were taught by means of an alphabet of separate letters in ivory or boxwood. This was common, also, in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century.† Mr. Tuer, who has overlooked this passage, refers to Sir Hugh Plat's scheme for letters cut on dice.‡

Amongst the Jews the teacher appears to have written out an alphabet for the pupil. Thus, in the Talmud, we are told that great Rabbi Akiba did not begin to study until manhood. He went with his son to a school and asked to be taught the Law. Father and child, it is

Be willing and industriously study thy book,
Then wilt thou in time become clever and wise;
Thou wilt learn to know and to value thy God,
To submit to His will, His commandments to love.
In virtue to seek, then, thy greatest weal,
The noblest adornment for heart and soul.
Thy neighbour to love, to forgive him his faults;
On the wicked take pity; be content with thy lot;
Be never afraid of adversity, distress,
But rely on the Lord in life and in death.'"

^{*}Mr. Alfred Schumacher, of Manchester, has kindly given me a note on the Helsingfors primer. "I was interested in the little primer, and it is the first time that I have seen a Swedish book printed with Gothic letters. I need hardly explain its contents, which, after the alphabet and the first steps in arithmetic, commence with the Lord's Prayer, the Confession, and the Ten Commandments, is followed by the two Sacraments and General Prayers for morning and evening and at meal times, as well as the Blessing used in the Scandinavian churches; next a Confession of Sin and a Prayer to be Forgiven. At the end are in rhyme Rules of Advice and of Conduct. A useful table of the Swedish coins, measures, weights, &c., is followed on the last page by the quaint drawing of the Chanticleer as singing master, with the little verse, which, as requested, I have translated literally:—

^{†&}quot;Jerome ad Lætam de Institutione Filiæ," European Magazine, vol. lxi., June, 1812, p. 433. The author of the anonymous passage last cited was the Rev. Laurence Sharpe, F.S.A.

[†] Tuer, second edition, p. 63.

said, both took hold of the slate, on which the teacher had written the alphabet (*Tract Aboth*). And in the curious apocryphal Gospel of the Infancy we read that when Joseph and Mary brought Jesus to Zaccheus, a schoolmaster in Jerusalem, he wrote out an alphabet for him (*Evangelium Infantia*, xlviii.).

Amongst its many treasures of the typographical art the John Rylands Library contains a very interesting early Italian primer. The colophon states that it was "Stampato in Parma per maestro Antonio de Viotti, Ad instantia de Francesco detto Legieri mcccclxxvii." Dibdin reads this name Ligitti. The red ink in which it is printed has spread, but it seems to me to be Legieri. Mr. Henry Guppy, M.A., the librarian, and also a member of our Society, who so willingly places his knowledge and experience at the service of students, agrees in this reading. The date is, however, wrong, and if we substitute a c for the sixth letter it will give us 1527, which is a much more probable date. It is elegantly printed in black and red, with a border round the first page. There are initial letters and eighteen miniature woodcuts. It opens "Nel nome sia de Dio e di Maria." Then follows the alphabet in this form:-

These are next given in the reverse order. Then follow the vowels separately. Here it is to be noted that, with the exception of A, no capital letters are supplied. To the ampersand and the "con" is added the contraction R, which is still used in the service books of the Roman Communion. The tittle, however, is omitted. The "Orazione Domincale in terza Rima" is followed by the Articles of Faith and other religious teachings also in verse. After a "Finis" we have "Incomincia la Confessione che se dice alla Messa" in Latin. Last of all comes "La Salve regina in terza rime." These eight leaves form a precious relic of the educational agencies of Italy in the sixteenth century.

From the evidence of the English A B C of 1551 and the Italian A B C, wrongly dated 1477, it is clear that the tittle was not always used in sixteenth century alphabets.

Some of the alphabet-tablets used in Germany figure in the facsimiles of old prints given by Emil Reicke in *Der Lehrer* (Leipzig, 1901).*

In the Stiftskirche at Aschaffenberg there is a painting of somewhat unusual composition. In the upper part is the Virgin with the child Jesus; a little to the right is St. Joseph. To the left, a little lower, is Zebedee. The bottom part of the picture shows us Maria Salome at whose knees are two boys, St. John the Evangelist, who has a chalice in his hand, and St. James the Great, with a schoolboy's satchel on his shoulder. Maria Salome is teaching them to read from a tablet on which the letters from a to z are painted. At the end of the alphabet the space is filled up with Igtvr.

The hornbook was finally displaced by cheaper primers, which were even more easily destroyed. Of these juvenile books I possess the following, all belonging to the first half of the nineteenth century: Richardson's "New Royal Battledore" (Derby: Thomas Richardson).

^{*} Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte. Band ix. See abb. 34 (which shows a reckoning-board somewhat similar in shape to the hornbook, the date is 1514), abb. 36 (1548), abb. 82 (1535). But for the most part the German pupils are represented as using books. See also Schulz, Deutsche Leben im xiv. und xv. Jahrhundert (Wien, 1892), p. 186.

"The Tragical Death of an Apple Pie" (London: Batchelor). "The Child's First Step towards Learning." Price one halfpenny (Derby: Richardson). "The First Step to Learning, being an entire new alphabet made for the instruction and Entertainment of Children whereby they may soon learn their letters,

"Contrived to give the Parents ease

(London: J. Catnach). Richardson's "Juveniles' Cabinet." Price Threepence (Derby: Richardson). "The Golden Pippin" (London: J. Catnach). This contains a picture alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments put into short rhyme, and an address to the Juvenile Reader. "The Pretty Picture Alphabet or new A B C with Easy Lessons" (London: J. Pitts). "The Child's First Book" (London: E. Billing. One Halfpenny). "The Galloping Guide to the A B C, or the Child's Agreeable Introduction to a Knowledge of the Gentlemen of the Alphabet" (Banbury: J. G. Rusher. Price One Penny). "A Present for a Good Child. Christian Alphabet, or Parents and Children's Guide and Instructor" (Kiernan, printer, Garden Street, Shudehill, Manchester).

For three centuries, if not longer, the hornbook was the foundation of knowledge for the poor, and even the more elaborate ABC book, used in some of the grammar schools, has a primitive aspect when compared with the paraphernalia of the elementary pupil of to-day. Let us hope that the boys of the present will, in a corresponding degree, be an improvement on their forefathers.

[&]quot;While learning does the Children please."

NUREMBERG ALPHABETICAL TOKENS.

BY W. S. CHURCHILL.

In connection with the subject of hornbooks it may be of interest to draw attention to one of the methods adopted in Germany for a similar object.

In Nuremberg, about the middle of the sixteenth century, there were traders who were skilled in mint operations, and some of these were enterprising enough to fabricate and send out for sale metal counters of copper or brass, with the letters of the alphabet in Roman type arranged in lines across the field. They were one inch in diameter or thereabouts, but, as instruction in arithmetic was assisted by the use of counters and counting boards, it was found to be convenient to use these alphabetical counters for this purpose, and, hence, a small size was preferred and became general.

The reverse side of these counters showed a sitting figure of the "Rechen Meister," with piles of these counters on a table before him, together with a reckoning board with lines on which to arrange the counters for use. The earliest dated specimen that has come down is of the year 1553, and from that time onward there were successive firms in Nuremberg who prepared these metallic alphabets, and also other series that should aid in the education of the children and be available for use in arithmetical exercises.

Thus were issued sets of counters conveying scriptural information. Adam and Eve were shown upon them, and the serpent, Noah and the ark, Samuel and David, also Jonathan and David, Joab and Amasa, Mordecai, and Haman. Other counters served to inform the children

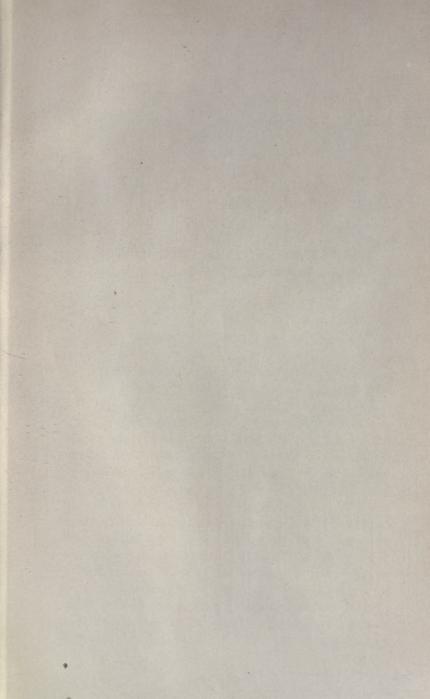
of their temporal rulers. The German emperor was duly displayed with his name and likeness, also kings of France and of Spain, and a few of the English royalties, from the magnificent Elizabeth, winding up with a Turkish Keyser, not forgetting also Generals Bonaparte and Suwarrow.

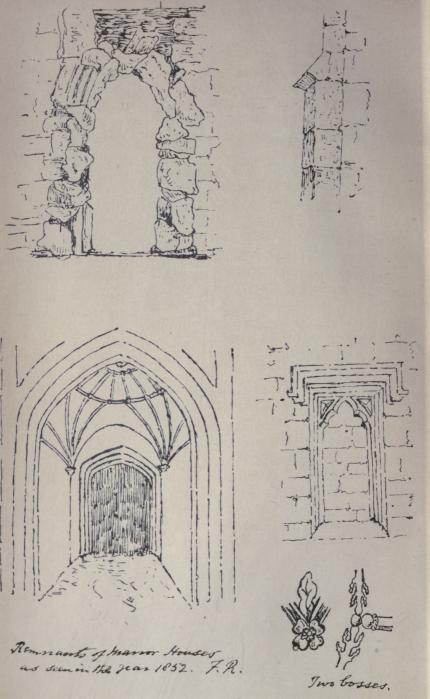
To recall the names of those memorable in Roman history, there were counters showing Romulus and Remus with their nurse the wolf, Marcus Curtius, Lucretia, Scipio, Hannibal, and Augustus.

It was thought worth while to preserve the memory of the better known pagan deities, and so Apollo, Hercules, Diana and Pallas, Pluto and Fortuna were pourtrayed and named. On others the makers of these educational counters would place some helpful precept or pious maxim, such as "In the beginning take thought for the end," "The blessing of God maketh rich," "Good fortune cometh from God the Lord," "The word of God abideth for ever."

On the whole of those counters, apart from the alphabets, the manufacturers were wont to place their name and that of their city Nuremberg.

The numbers thus issued must have been very large. Nuremberg seems to have been for some time the only place that kept up a constant supply. About the year 1800 they were reduced in size and gradually fell into disuse. As compared with the printed hornbooks, these metallic pieces may be said to have a longer life. They would be issued in larger quantity, and, as their former use became forgotten, they have come to be looked upon as antique specimens of money that may possibly be of value.







A NARRATIVE CONCERNING TWO CASTELLATED MANOR HOUSES FORMERLY EXISTING IN MACCLES-FIELD, WITH A CORRESPONDING CHAPTER OF CHESHIRE HISTORY.

BY FRANK RENAUD, M.D., F.S.A.

THE royal manor of Macclesfield, on the confines of the equally royal forest, has claimed and received a large share of attention from a succession of English sovereigns, and as such has been associated with many persons of eminence holding offices of trust under the crown; whilst the neighbouring manor of Bosley also enjoyed the unique distinction of being the sole dependency amongst the numerous townships grouped around the mother church of Prestbury of being vested in the crown apart from the local earldom. As such it could be leased out for terms of years or for life, in recompense to whomsoever the royal favour inclined.

That two semi-fortified or embattled manor houses formerly existed within this royal manor may be accepted as an indisputable fact; also that an interval of more than a century separated one from the other. From the Cheshire Recognisance Rolls the earliest and, indeed,

the only historical record of the first building is obtainable, and these show that it was begun in the penultimate years of the fourteenth century. It appears that a certain John de Macclesfield, senior, clerk in holy orders, petitioned Richard II., in the year 1398, for a licence to embattle and crenellate a mansion he was then engaged in building in Macclesfield with stone and lime (de bataller et kerneler de pere et de caux ses chambers de novel commoncé en sa place ou mansion en v're ville de Macclesfeld), and to hold the same so kernellated to himself and his heirs for ever; also for a grant of six oaks from the wood of Lyme for the same building. His request was duly granted, and confirmed in the succeeding reign of Henry IV., by the Prince of Wales, in 1402, together with the fee simple of Bosley:—

1402. John, clerk, senior, Adam de Kingsley, and others, licence by Henry Prince of Wales for the enfeoffment in fee simple to John de Macclesfield parson of the Church of Denham of the manor of Boslee held in capite of the Earl of Chester, and to the said John and others so enfeoffed to grant the said manor to the before-mentioned John de Macclesfield for life, with remainder to John de Macclesfield, son of Katherine de Kingsley and the heirs male of his body, and them failing to William de Macclesfield brother of the said John, and son of the said Katherine and the heirs male of his body, and them failing to the heirs of the body of the said John, and them failing to the heirs of the said William, and them failing to the said Katherine for life, and at her death to the right heirs of the said John de Macclesfield, clerk, for ever (2 and 3 Henry IV.).

The context serves to show that this John de Macclesfield was a person of some local distinction, as otherwise the royal favour would not have been granted so readily by one monarch or confirmed by a successor; whilst the additional circumstance of his having been a beneficed priest, and married withal, is equally noteworthy.

But it so happened that, at this particular time, there were two other persons, contemporaries, also styled John

de Macclesfield, and, in the absence of patronymics, a very pardonable confusion has arisen, whilst unreliable statements have been placed on record which it is desirable to rectify, if practicable, in the interests of correct Cheshire history.

An obscurity, and indeed a certain air of mystery, and it may be of misapprehension has hitherto enveloped the identity and career of this particular John de Macclesfield, who likewise obtained possession of Bosley manor through the intervention and interest of Adam de Kingsley, at that time escheator of Cheshire, with whose daughter Katherine he had contracted a matrimonial alliance. It appears, however, that this valuable asset had shortly before been let out on lease to William Montacute, earl of Salisbury, jointly with his countess, by Queen Isabella, and that previously to his death the earl had alienated it to John de Macclesfield without the consent of the countess, who promptly petitioned the king as tenant in chief to withhold his consent. A writ was issued accordingly to the escheator commanding him to take the manor again into the king's hands; but, notwithstanding this temporary injunction, John Kingsley succeeded two years afterwards to get the mandate revoked in favour of his son-in-law, then styled parson of the church of Denham, to hold the manor in capite of the Earl of Chester for his life, with remainder first to Katherine his wife and then to John their son, and subsequently to William, another son.

Shortly afterwards, *i.e.*, in 1402, John de Macclesfield had licence granted to go abroad, for what purpose is not mentioned, but before doing so he settled his manor on Katherine.

That he was a beneficed priest is thus made certain; but as there is no church designated Denham nearer to Cheshire than Suffolk and Buckingham this not hitherto suggested circumstance may supply a reasonable clue to his identification, the inference being that Davenham in Cheshire, commonly pronounced Daneham, is here signified, which inference receives further confirmation from the circumstance that in the list of rectors the name of John de Assheton appears in 1353, who held the cure for three years. The date of his death has been variously given, but the official post-mortem record was in 1434, when a mandamus was issued to inquire of what lands he and Katherine Kingsley had died seized, after which John de Macclesfield his son, at that time parson of the church of Barleborough in Derbyshire, along with one other, obtained the grant of a temporary custody of Bosley manor, pending the traverse of an inquisition which resulted in its being once more taken into the king's hands, and after its surrender by the said John being granted to Sir Thomas Stanley, of Liverpool, whose family or himself had acquired lands at Saltersford in the forest in the previous reign of Henry V., i.e., in 1418—"Thomas Stanley tenuit terras et tenementa sua Saltingforde &c. de Com. Cest. p. serv. milit"-by which circuitous route the first advent of the family of Stanley into the district is made known. Short then of absolute proof, the conclusion is almost inevitable that the patronymic of this John de Macclesfield was Assheton, connected with the two powerful intermarried neighbouring families of Staley and Ashton-under-Lyne, and more probably with the Astons or Ashtons of Aston and Meare in Staffordshire, as will presently appear; but, be this as it may, he was in no wise directly related in blood to the families of Adlington and Lyme, in Cheshire, as has been so constantly yet erroneously affirmed. Regarding the exact circumstances of his marriage with Katherine Kingsley, a less pronounced opinion may be hazarded, though it is improbable that one so highly placed as John Kingsley would have shown him such a warm and unvarying affection, or that royalty itself should have conferred on him such marks of favour, had he been accounted in no better light than a criminous clerk.

Other instances of priestly marriages are to be found at or about this period, and, indeed, John, his son, though beneficed, was likewise a married clerk:—

1446. 13 Henry VI. John, son of the clerk, married Margaret—and was parson of the church of Barleborough when he surrendered his rights to Bosley manor in 1442.

1435. 13 Henry VI. Petronella was wife of John Kingsley, otherwise called clerke.

Without a competent knowledge, therefore, of all the surrounding circumstances, the practice hitherto adopted of branding his issue with the badge of illegitimacy is scarcely warranted, although the marked preference attached to the name and family of Katherine Kingsley, in the public records, is sufficiently pronounced to call for due recognition. As he lived to an advanced age, and both himself and his wife were defunct in 1434, it is equally difficult to comprehend how Katherine could have become the second wife of John Alcock, of Ridge, unless, perchance, he left a daughter so called after her mother, to whom the armorial glass once existing in Bosley Church had reference.

The other John de Macclesfield, contemporary with him of Bosley, &c., was unquestionably a Legh, as can be proved from extracts in the Cheshire Recognisance Rolls. It only remains, therefore, to discover his exact place in this widely extended family, which becomes practicable by a further reference to the *Duchy of Lancaster Records*. He was son of Robert Legh, the first of

Adlington, by Maud Norley, his second wife, who bore him three sons, John, Peter, and Thurstan, the latter so christened after his grandfather, Thurstan de Norley, of Pemberton, who lived in the reign of Edward II., but of whom no mention has hitherto been made in this family's genealogical descent. That these three were brethren is made plain by the fact that Robert Legh and Maud his wife paid a fine to Henry, duke of Lancaster, for a writ concerning the manor of Flixton, and a further fine for the manor of Ordsall, near Manchester; also that Robert le Brom quitclaimed le Brom, adjacent to Lymm, to them jointly, which had been demised to them jointly by Adam de Kingsley for their lives, with successive remainders to their son John, and to Thurstan and Peter, his brothers, and their heirs male (Duchy Records, 29 to 41 Edward III.).

The official career of this John de Macclesfield is summed up between the years 1394 and 1407, and is as follows:—

RICHARD II.

1394. Letters from John de Legh informing the Chamberlayne of Cheshire that he had granted to his brother Peter all his estate in the office of Park keeper in Macclesfield, and praying that a grant might be made to Peter.

1395. John, son of Robert Legh, justice in eyre.

1396. Commission for the three hundreds of Macclesfield.

1397. Grant of a life annuity from the King to John de Legh, of Macclesfield, of 100 shillings, the King having detained him in his service for life.

HENRY IV.

1400. Licence to John de Legh for the herbage and pasturage of Macclesfield as a reward for good services.

1402. Licence to John de Macclesfield, of Macclesfield Mill, 16 marks yearly payment.

1403. Commission to John de Macclesfield as justice of the three hundreds of array.

1404. John de Macclesfield to appear before Council touching a debt incurred whilst he was Receiver of Macclesfield in the time of Richard II.

1407. John de Macclesfield, writ, diem clausit extremum, on the death of.

He left a son, Robert, as appears from the following extract in the duchy of Lancaster charters: "Henry the fourth: William de la mere released the messuages, lands, &c., which he had by gift and enfeoffment of Robert, son of John de Legh of Macclesfield in Liverpool and Kirkdale, which formerly belonged to Lora, mother of Robert de Ireland, in right of dower."

Thus far, then, it is conclusively shown that John de Macclesfield, who built a fortified manor house in the borough of Macclesfield (en votre ville de Macclesfield), was not a Legh, and further evidence of their being two distinctive personages is made manifest from the different dates of their *post-mortem* records, now that these same official records have been discovered.

The second manor house, rightly known as Buckingham House, dates from the latter part of the fifteenth century, and, if the written testimony of veracious chroniclers may be accepted, was a structure of some magnificence, the demolition of which, so shortly following its erection, can only be attributed to acts of wanton or premeditated destruction. Leland passes it by without notice. Camden, who wrote in the latter part of the sixteenth century, says there are still some remains of the mansion of Henry Stafford, the great duke of Buckingham, who lived here in great state and hospitality. Webb, writing in 1672, says, "in this town are yet seen some ruines of the ancient Manor House of the renowned Duke of Buckingham, who (as ye report goeth) kept there his princely residence about the time of King Edward the fourth, of whose great hospitality there much by tradition is reported." W. Smith described it in his Vale Royal as "a huge place, all of stone, in manner of a castle, which belonged to the D. of Buckingham, but now gone much to decay." In confirmation of these written particulars nothing now remains beyond a sadly mutilated entrance porch, a superimposed square-headed window, a ruined arch, and a perpendicular buttress built into a solid stone wall, stretching a considerable distance, and comprising about an acre of ground.

The earliest extant information of the Staffords in association with Macclesfield dates from 1385 when Hugh, fourth earl of that name, was appointed forester, steward, and bailiff of the hundred, in succession to Joane de Mohun, who had previously held the same in dower. Edmund Stafford succeeded as fifth earl, in 1401, and three years afterwards was killed at the battle of Shrewsbury, thus giving place to Humphrey, the sixth earl, afterwards created first duke of Buckingham in 1444, and who was slain at the battle of Northampton fifteen years afterwards.

Henry Stafford succeeded as second duke, and was beheaded by order of Richard III., but his son and successor, also named Henry, and commonly styled the "Great Duke," had all his father's honours and dignities restored to him by Henry VII., the larger parts of which with the dukedom were lost, together with his head, in 1521.

To Humphrey, therefore, the first duke, may be assigned the erection of this once stately mansion, the date of which will be sometime between the years 1444 and 1460.

It now only remains to be told how Duke Humphrey acquired the manor of Bosley, with appurtenancies, *i.e.*, partly through Sir Thomas Stanley having surrendered his share of it to him in 1446, and also by John and Richard, issue of John de Macclesfield, having relinquished their claims, in consideration of which the duke exchanged with Richard one of his manors in Staffordshire called

"Mere" in the transfer, but more correctly designated "Maer," situate about midway between Stoke and Whitmore. An entry in the Welsh Records attests that the mansion was in a habitable condition in the time of Henry Stafford, not that he built it, but that it belonged to him: "The Manor, Castell, or Capital Messuage, known by the name of Buckyngeham House or Buckyngeham Place in Maxfeld, belonged to Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckyngeham."

The third contemporaneous person, sometimes styled John de Macclesfield, was son of Sir Piers Legh, of Lyme. He assumed the name of Alcocke on his marriage with the daughter of John Alcocke, of Ridge, near Macclesfield, and, as already said, is credited with having taken to second wife Katherine Kingsley, in corroboration of which an armorial shield impaling Alcock with Kingsley was formerly displayed on a window in Bosley Church.

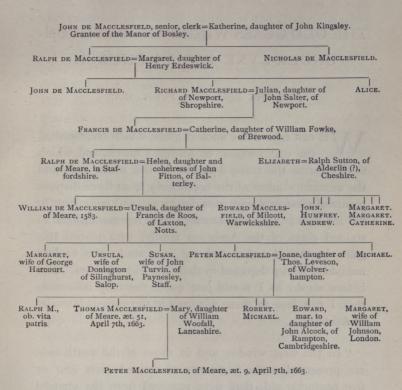
In conclusion, it may prove desirable to indicate the divergences of two of these families of Macclesfield, as represented by that of John de Macclesfield and Katherine Kingsley, briefly summarised by Erdeswick as far as the year 1583, i.e., ten years precedent to his death; and likewise to copy two other separate pedigrees printed in the second and fifth volumes of the Salt Society's publications, one of which, extending as far as William and Ursula Macclesfield, is attested by William Macclesfield, and the concluding one, carrying down the family into the reign of Charles II., by Thomas Macclesfield. In all these documents the name of John, eldest son of John de Macclesfield (parson of Barleborough, living in 1442), is omitted, and some other Christian names vary as compared with those in the

public records; beyond this the details are sufficiently correct.

By way of further preface, and as an indication of the confusion of families, then and still prevailing, and likewise to foreshadow a probable reason for selecting the manor of Mear for that of Bosley, the words of Erdeswick may be quoted, viz., "Thomas Aston, of Aston, in Cheshire, had two parts of Aston manor adjoining Meare, sometime divided between William de Mear and Robert Stafford. Stafford parted with his moiety to Raufe, son of John Macclesfield, the son of John Leghe, the third son of Robert Leghe, of Adlington, for his house in Macclesfield. The lands, as I take it, were the moiety of Mere and Aston."

The family of Macclesfield of Maer adopted the coat of Kingsley, viz., gules a cross engrailed ermine; and for crest, out of a ducal coronet a ram's head ermine, horned or, in mouth a green twig, which is the same crest as that of Legh, sometimes with and at others without ermine spots.

Macclesfield of Bosley and Meare.





THE OLD GLASS WINDOWS OF ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE PARISH CHURCH.

BY THE REV. G. A. PUGH, M.A.

WE can regard the ancient glass, which once formed the east window of Ashton Church, and which to-day forms the three windows in the south aisle and the western window of the north aisle, from three distinct points of view—we can consider its age and endeavour to fix its date; we can examine the representations in stained glass of the Assheton family, who placed this glass in the church; and we can study the various mediæval scenes depicted in these ancient windows. But before we do so I would just quote the only references that I can find to these windows in the various histories of Ashton:—

"In the west window and in those of the south aisle are preserved some fragments of stained glass four or five centuries old, that were removed from the chancel in 1872."

"The ancient but sadly mutilated specimens of stained glass (dating probably from the fourteenth or fifteenth century), which were taken out of the east windows in 1872, were placed in three of the windows in the south aisle and in the west one" (Canon Eagar).

As regards the date of these windows we are much assisted by a manuscript, written in the years 1564–1598, entitled "Lancashire Church Notes and Trickings of Arms," copied by the late Mr. J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A., and recorded in vol. xlii., p. 266, of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. This manuscript proves conclusively that these four windows are only a very small portion of the ancient glass which once adorned the Ashton Parish Church. Indeed, a lady still living told me that she remembered seeing people carrying off the old glass in handfuls from the east window of the Stamford Chapel after the fire which occurred in 1821.

The manuscript begins with these words: "At Assheton-under-Lyme in the countie of Lancaster A.D. 1596 (?), in the same churche in glasse, in the east window in the chauncell (six divisions to represent six lights of a window), A.D. 146.., fower sonnes and seven daughters." Now, as we have in one of these windows the representation of a man with four sons and seven daughters, and as we know that the particular member of the Ashton family who had four sons and seven daughters was Sir John Assheton, we know that these figures in stained glass represent his four sons Thomas, Robert, Laurence, and John, and his seven daughters Lucy, Margaret, Katherine, Elizabeth, Agnes, Anne, and Isabel.

This Sir John Assheton was knighted by Henry IV. on the eve of his coronation, which took place October 13th, 1399. He obtained two fairs for cattle in Ashton on the eve, feast, and morrow of St. Swithun and on the eve, feast, and morrow of St. Martin. In the same window we have Sir John Assheton himself, with his three wives Dulcie, Margaret, and Isabella. He died in the year 1428.

If this be not sufficient to fix the date of the windows we have the following direct statement in the manuscript itself: "Pray for the good estate of Nicholas Asheton, Elizabeth his wife, Laurence Ashton the rector of this church, and Edmund Ashton knight, Anne his wife, and his heirs, who caused this window to be erected."

The Rev. Laurence Assheton became the rector of Ashton in 1458. Nicholas Assheton was justice of the King's Bench in the twenty-third year of Henry VI. (1445). while Edmund was the son of Sir Thomas de Assheton and lived at Chadderton, near Oldham, having married Johannah, the daughter of Radcliffe or Radcliffe Chadderton, Esq. These facts confirm the truth of the ancient manuscript, which definitely fixes the date of the windows as somewhere between the years 1460 and 1470, and when we are considering hundreds of years the unfortunate obliteration in the manuscript of the last numeral is surely not of very much importance. What we know is that these windows are at least four hundred and thirty years old, and that their colours cannot be equalled, much less excelled, by our modern artists in stained or, to speak correctly, in painted glass. These windows, which formed the east window of the church until 1872, were much damaged by fire in 1791, and were reset as they appear at present by Messrs. Ballantyne & Sons, of Edinburgh.

The fourth window, which is now the western window of the north aisle, and which for its harmonious blending of colours I consider to be the most beautiful, was placed in 1872 in the old tower of 1818, where it remained until the erection of the present handsome tower by Mr. J. S. Crowther in 1886. It then lay packed in a crate, first of

all at the rectory, and afterwards beneath the tower of the church, until 1890, when by the liberality of Mr. Giles Judson, a former churchwarden, it was overhauled and placed by Mr. Sutherland, of Manchester, in its present position. From the numbers of the Assheton family whom these windows commemorate, and who lived in successive generations, it is quite possible, and even probable, that the east window was not completed at once, but erected by degrees and at slightly different periods, Edmund Ashton being the grandson of Sir John Assheton. The inscription copied in manuscript, already mentioned, "Orate pro bono statu Nicholaij Asheton, Elizabeth ux' sue, Laurenc' Asheton rectore isti' eccl'ie, et Edmund Ashton militis, Anne uxoris sue heredibz suo', qui istam fenestram fiere fecit," will bear the meaning that it was Edmund Ashton who caused this window to be completed.

We have considered the date, let us next consider the representations of the Assheton family as depicted in these windows. They all appear in three lights of the easternmost window on the south wall of the church. There in the left-hand light we have a group of seven females, four with covered and three with uncovered heads, kneeling at a faldstool with an open book upon it. These are the children, to whom I have previously referred, of Sir John Assheton. In the centre light we have a man kneeling, with his three wives behind him also kneeling, with covered heads and before faldstools. This is a representation of Sir John Assheton and his three wives Dulcie, Margaret, and Isabella. In the right light we have another man kneeling, with his three wives kneeling before faldstools, and this light represents Sir Thomas Assheton and his three wives Agnes, Elizabeth, and Anne. These two lights are thus referred to in the

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old manuscript: "Orate pro bono statu Johannis Assheton militis, Dulcie, Margeris, et Isabellæ, qui edificium cedebatur;" and "Orate pro bono statu Thomas Assheton militis, Agnets uxoris suæ Elizabeth et Anne uxores ejus finiebet," a man kneeling and three wives all in their court armour. Now, all these figures, with the exception of Sir John Assheton, have the Assheton crest, a shield argent, a mullet sable, while Sir Thomas Assheton has two, one on his arm and the other on his chest. I rather fancy, however, that the one belongs to Sir John Assheton, and got into its present position at the repair of the windows after the fire.

We have finished now with the Asshetons, and we have come to the most puzzling and difficult part of our paper, the description of the various mediæval scenes depicted in the windows. The subject is the life of St. Helena and the legends connected with her history. All through our investigation we must bear in mind that we are not dealing with the historical facts of her life as known to us, but with the views of those who placed these windows in the church in the fifteenth century. The first window, at the foot of which we have already seen the representations of the Assheton family, represents a birth, a baptism, and a reception into a convent. In the first light a female is carrying a baby well packed up in bands and clothes, while other females are kneeling around, and beneath is the inscription, "Hic nascitur Elena Coyl regis filia." This is the birth of Elena, the daughter of King Cole; Henry of Huntingdon says that the Empress Helena was the daughter of Coel, the King of Colecestre or Colchester. In the middle light we have a baptism, but whether of Helena or her son Constantine the Great I cannot say, but as the next light represents Helena, with King Cole and her mother, being

received as a young girl into a convent for her education, I am inclined to think that it is the baptism of Helena. At any rate, damaged as this light is, it is a most interesting one, for in it we have a king and a queen, in scarlet and ermine, wearing their crowns, a bishop with a mitre, and two attendant clergy, one holding an open book and the other an open casket or box. In the third light the lady superior of the convent is clad in a purple robe with a deep white collar, while a nun is peeping through the bars of the convent window. The purple and red roofs, with the canopied tracery in the window, are exceedingly rich and beautiful. In the next window we have the marriage of Helena with the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, which took place in A.D. 273. The vestments of the officiating priest are historically interesting, while the harmonious grouping of the marriage party is very effective. In the centre light we have St. Helena standing in front of the church which she built at Jerusalem where the Holy Sepulchre once stood, and where for some time there had been an idolatrous temple to Venus, conversing with, I believe, the architect, unless he be Macarius, the bishop of Jerusalem. In the background we see the church, and above it there are three figures whose identification may give rise to argument, but which I feel convinced represent the Holy Trinity, especially when we consider that this church would be dedicated to the true God, where once a heathen temple had been dedicated to Venus, and when we consider what a defender of the faith the Emperor Constantine was through the latter years of his life. On the right there is an old man and behind him a young man, while facing them there is a third person from whose mouth proceeds a cloud of vapour which forms a likeness to a ghostly head; the three wear skull cups and white tippets. The

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remaining four lights in this window represent the following tradition: St. Sylvester, the bishop of Rome A.D. 314, once, it is said, restored an ox to life which had been killed by magic, and the ox is accordingly his distinguishing emblem. The ox was killed by the magician for a trial of skill, and he who restored it to life was to be accounted the servant of the true God. In the first light you have the magician appearing with his retinue before the emperor and empress, evidently requesting permission to perform before them. In the second light you have St. Sylvester wearing his tiara, the empress, the magician, and the ox. In the third light you have the same figures with the addition of the emperor, who also with the pope is wearing on his head the triple crown, while underneath are the words, "Hic ante diabo mag supplicatur taure eccidit mortu motu." And in the fourth light you have the emperor clad in silvery white robes, a crozier, and a number of young men in purple cassocks and skull caps, while the once defunct ox is raising its head on high, and beneath are the words, "Taurus rehillitant." As Sir Thomas Assheton was a great chemist, and regarded in those days as a dabbler in the black arts, this subject appears to be an appropriate one.

In the third window we have the landing of St. Helena in the Holy Land and her interview with the builders of the new church at Jerusalem. We have also the soldiers of Constantine the Great clad in armour, with the banner of the cross at their head ("In hoc signo vinces"), while the three lower lights illustrate the legend of the Invention of the Cross. We see men digging up the three crosses; we see the restoration to life of a dead lady at the touch of the true cross, and we see her visiting St. Helena to thank her for her restoration to life. Rufinus tells us in A.D. 400 that the place of the Passion was

miraculously revealed, and that three crosses were found, and that the true cross was discovered by the miraculous healing of a rich lady; while Sulspicius Severus, A.D. 395, says that the three crosses were discovered and the right one ascertained by the miraculous restoration to life of a dead lady. Socrates, A.D. 430, tells us that St. Helena was told in a night vision to go to Jerusalem, and that she found the site of the Passion with difficulty, and that Macarius suggested the means of distinguishing the true cross by applying it to a woman at the point of death.

The remaining window is chiefly worthy of mention for its beautiful purple and crimson colouring. On the right and left we have the kings Henry VI. and Edward IV., while in the centre light we have the building and the dedication service of the new church at Jerusalem. Here, again, we have the emperor and the pope each wearing the triple crown, a cardinal, a bishop wearing his mitre, and a priest wearing a pleated surplice, whilst one attendant minister holds an open book and another a processional cross. Amongst the details of this window there is a very lovely little sketch of an angels' choir.

Such are these windows, whose colours will still be rich when several of our modern windows shall have faded away. They are the only monuments of the once powerful Assheton family that Ashton-under-Lyne possesses. Their bones lie buried somewhere beneath the church, but no stone marks the spot. But in these windows their memory lives, and if people would only put good glass in our churches in memory of their friends it would be more lasting than marble monuments, which too soon decay.

138 WINDOWS OF ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE PARISH CHURCH.

The preparation of this paper has cost me both time and trouble, but I trust that you will consider the result as well expressed in the words of Virgil, "Labor omnia vincit improbus," from which our Ashton motto is taken, "Labor omnia vincit."





Ashton-under-Lyne Church Windows. (First Window.)





Ashton-under-Lyne Church Windows. (Third Window.)





Ashton-under-Lyne Church Windows.
(Western Windows, North Aisle.)





HOW CHAT MOSS BROKE OUT IN 1526.

BY H. T. CROFTON.

IN the course of a very interesting paper on "Changes in the Sea Coast of Lancashire and Cheshire," by the Rev. A. Hume, which appeared in vol. xviii. of the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (new series, vol. vi.), Mr. Hume had occasion to examine the account of the bursting of Chat Moss, as recorded in Leland's Itinerary (c. 1533), and he accompanies his remarks with a facsimile of the page containing Leland's account of the occurrence and a map of the locality. The quotations appear in the printed *Itinerary*, vol. vii., fol. 56, p. 46, and vol. v., fol. 89, p. 90. When Leland visited Lancashire, about 1533, the occurrence was quite a recent one, and was still, no doubt, a good deal talked about, and the residence of his namesake at Morley Hall most likely awakened his special interest in the disaster. His account takes its bearings, it will be observed, from Morley Hall:-

"47 + Westerbyshire [West Derby Hundred].

LANCASHIRE
FIRRE WOOD Chateley More [Chat Moss] in [West] DarbyIN CHATELEY
MOSSE. shire is a iij or iiij mile in bredthe. Gleasebroke river cummith with in lesse then a
mile of Morley hawle.

"Flete and a nother broke or ij cummith in to Gleasebrooke and Glasebrooke goith in to Mers[ey].

"Chateley More a vj mile yn lenght sum [way] brast up with in a mile of Morley Haul, and [de]stroied much grounde with mosse therabou[t], and destroid much fresch wat! fische th[ere] abowt, firste corrupting with stin[k]ing wat! Glasebrook, and so Glasebrook car[ried] stinking wat and mosse into Mersey water, and Marsey corruptid carri[ed] the roulling mosse part to the shores of Wa[les], part to the Ile of Man, and sum in to Ireland. In the very toppe of Chatemore where the mosse was hyest and brake is no[w] a fair plain valley as was in tymes paste an[d] and a rille runnith in hit and peaces of smaul trees be found in the botom" (op. cit., p. 70).

Leland mentions that Mr. Leland, of Morley Hall, burns turf only, as Chat Moss is within less than a mile of the house, and adds incidentally, in reference to the fact just mentioned, that "with breking up of abundance of water yn hit (it) did much hurte to Landis thereabout and Rivers with wandering mosse and corrupt water" (op. cit., p. 70).

Leland also adds: "Syr John Holcrofte's house, within a mile or more of Morle[y], stood in jeoparde with fleting of the mosse" (op. cit., p. 71).

Mr. Hume notes that Sir John Holcroft's house was Hurst Hall, near the modern railway, and that another branch of the Holcrofts resided at Holcroft Hall on the right bank of the Glasebrook (op. cit., p. 72).

On June 23rd, 1866, the Rev. A. Henn and the Rev. T. P. Kirkman went over the ground, and, as they believed, found the locality of the eruption, viz., near the junction of Fleet or Moss Brook with Pennington Brook. During floods the rise of the river is occasionally twelve feet and upwards just below the confluence (op. cit., p. 74).

Camden, in his *Britannia* (vol. iii., p. 376, ed. folio, Gough), in the time of Elizabeth, says: "Chatmosse, a swampy tract of great extent, a considerable part of which was carried off in the last age by swoln rivers with great danger, whereby the rivers were infected, and great quantities of their fish died. Instead thereof is now a valley watered by a small stream, and many trees were discovered thrown down and lying flat, so that one may suppose, when the ground lay neglected and the waste water of brooks was not drained off into the open vallies or their courses stopt by neglect or desolation, all the lower grounds were turned into such swamps (which we call mosses) or into pools" (see Croston's Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. iii., p. 274).

These are the only accounts, so far as I am aware, that have hitherto been known of this moss burst. Quite recently, when examining a number of documents relating to the riots on Theylemoor, Moston,* in the Tudor period, I have come across the following more detailed account,

In 1836 Baines, in his *History of Manchester*, vol. ii., p. 268, wrongly attributed this occurrence to Hough Moss, near Hough End Clough, Withington.

The Twelfth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, in the appendix, part ii., dealing with documents of Earl Cowper at Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire, gives an extract from a letter dated Manchester, January 8th, 1633-4. It reads: "We have forewarning signs of God's judgments many. A great earthquake, immoderate rains, and great inundation of waters, strange lightnings on Sabbath day last. The report is that Ribble water stood still for two hours together. There is, some

^{*}Theylemoor is better known as White Moss, and in 1633 was the scene of a similar eruption, which Hollinworth's Mancuniensis thus records: "Anno 1633. On New Year's Day the [white] mosse, being of a greate breadth, and four or five yards deepe, rose up out of his place and travelled towards the house of James Knowles and environed it about, carried a large stone trough before it and boar down trees that stood in the way, but, being afterwards somewhat broken with a row of trees before the said James Knowles's house, it filled the brookes and rivers, slew the fish, blackened the waters, [and] made some fruitful land barren."

which may have been copied from a broadsheet of the period:—

[1526, Jan. 20th]

"How Chatmos brake out &c.

"M^d y^t the Thursday weche was y^e xxth day off Januari in ye yere off o^re lord god a mccccc xxvith and in the yere of the Regne of Kynge Henry the viijth ye xxvijth qwereffell a grett & a mervelous chance in lancashyre w^tin ye pisshe off leagh as aft^r folows: A Gost [sic, gret] mshe [marsh] grond callyd chatmos, in lenght space off v miles, in breade ij miles and a jd [sic], as yt is thoght by grett abndance of Wat^r & mude co'gelet [congealed] to geythur wythin the said mosse apon y^e west end brake owtt w^t treis growyng theropo', by estymacō y^e space off v rods in bread & in lenght a myle and a jd [sic] and there came so grett abndance off mosse downe, by reason off the sayd wat^r & muddyd, y^t hyt fyllyd a ret [river] callyd Glasebrock, were vnto come iij grett brocks, whyche att y^t tyme were very heyghe by reason off

three miles from us about Blakeley and Mosson, the White Moss. Saturday night this ground brake forth, and, by the violence of the wind and the force of the water which was within, it removed itself; it came in height four or five yards, and in breadth near twenty yards and sometimes more, and it went violently till it came to a place of descent which we call a clough, and then went down along such place for the space of a mile and a half, until it came above a quarter of a mile this side Blackley Chapel, and so it came into that river [Irk], and did raise it as high again as it was before, and so putrified the water that our water [at Manchester] was as black as a moss pit, and at the Hunt's Bank [Manchester] it left I think near a hundred load of moss earth behind it; how much then may we suppose it left in other places? A strange work of God it is. What the event may be, the Lord only knoweth. I pray God we may make good use of it" (Manchester City News N. & Q., vol. viii., p. 35).

"In 1633 James Knowles, of Moston, buried a son, Isaacke, at the Manch: Collegiate Church, and there are other entries in the register relating to the same family in various years" (J. Owen, in Manchester City

News N. & Q., vol. ii., p. 68).

heyvye watr yt fell the nyght affore, & also yt sayd mosse doyth cou [cover] lx acres & more off sowyng lond wt medowes on bothe ye syds off ye sayd ryu, wheche sowyng land & medowes pt of they are vi scor Rods & more ffrom the place were ye mosse brak owtt, and besydes yt ffyllyd vppe dyvers valles & slacks wt grett marle patts, & ou & besydes yt ffyllyd vppe all ye holle Ryu to a place called Kelcheth melne & yt dame of the sayd mylne, ye wheche Ryû & dame is a hudreth Rods & more in lenght, & the mosse ley so hyght yt couled all the wallez to ye height off the hyghest place off the growne yt by wheche byextymacon is lx ffots off heght in some places, and also, by reason off the sayd mosse wheche stoppyd ye sayd Riû & Brocks comvng yrto, ther was outflowed wt watr by extymacon v myles in length and on myle in bred win the space off vi howres, in wheche copas [compass] was lxiiij howsez, were off xxvith bene In grett jopde [jeopardy] & stand in the watr some to ve eysing [eaves] and abowe yt, in so meche ye in habitors had myche payne & sorowe to save theyr & theyre cheldren vndrowed, & yet, thanket be to god, no crystyn body was pisshed, butt yt they lost ther godes in ther howss, wt ther corne & hey in theyr bernes, & some swyne & doggs drowyd. thys mosse & watr brake owtt ye same day in ye mornyg, abowt viijth of ye clock, in ye syght of Thoms Kelcheth, gent., Mathew lythegow, Robt Wattmoght, & Ryc' fflytcroft, wheche all iiij bene takyn ffor honest men, & they sey yt by yeyre trwyth, all they thoght yt had bene domysday, by cause ye wat^r & mosse wt growyng trees yron dyd mete wt so grett vyloenc & came tomlyng to ward yey, & they dyd cry apon theyre neghbors to saue yeyre selffs & so ye watr & mude stod stylle & demyd vpp w'in the sayd Ryu vnto ye Sett'day in the mornyng ven next ffollowing, & then pte off the

sayd mosse, by Reason off the seyd wat^r & mudd so demyd vppe, brake owtt att on tyme & went so hyght y^t yt went ou [over] ye toppe off Kylcheth mylne & so ou [over] medowes & ffyldes, & muddyd & slegged ye^m a yard depe & more in some places, vnto Holcroft & to Glazebrook bredgh [bridge], and so to the wat^r off marcy [Mersey] where y⁹ [there] is a ffeyre boyt [ferry boat] att y^e Holyn ffayre, wheche cold not goo for thycknes off mudd by the space off ctayne dayes, the wheche mudd colowred y^e wat^r lyck to yncke downe vnto Warington, & so to Livupole, qwych is ownne arme off the see, & is in lenght from ye sayd mosse ffollowyng y^e wat^r xxiiijth mylez or more, & is so corruppyd that nother beasts nore Cattellez wyche [sic, will] dryncke y⁹ off [thereof]—ffinis."

The paper on which this is written has for water-mark a hand and star.





THE ANCIENT CROSSES OF LANCASHIRE.

BY HENRY TAYLOR, F.S.A.

THE HUNDRED OF AMOUNDERNESS.

THIS hundred, called in the Domesday Survey Agemundernes, is supposed by some to have been named after Augmundr, a Scandinavian chief, and by others to have derived its name from Ackmunderness, a promontory sheltered by oaks. It measures about twenty miles from east to west and fifteen from north to south. Its southern boundary is the river Ribble, its western the Irish Sea. It is bounded on the east by the hundred of Blackburn and on the north by that of Lonsdale. The central part is flat and low-lying; the western consists of low hills and undulating land, but east of the Roman road, between Preston and Lancaster, the country is almost mountainous, for on the Bleasdale moors an elevation is reached of fifteen hundred feet above the sea-level. It is, throughout the greater part of its area, a rich agricultural district, and usually spoken of as the Fylde, although this term, when used with precision, relates only to the westerly portion of it, or to about twothirds of the whole area.

Camden says, "It is excellent pasture, especially towards the sea, where it is partly champain." The river Wyre with its tributaries, the Calder and the Brock—rising near the Bleasdale moors—drains nearly the whole of the hundred. These tributaries unite near S. Michaels-on-Wyre, and, as is the case in flat districts, take very sinuous courses.

The physical characteristics of this part of England are excellently pourtrayed in Randolf Caldecott's well-known illustrations to the "Three Jovial Huntsmen," an old song of the Fylde country, *written in the racy Lancashire dialect. The low hills, the stone-walled fields, the quaint farmhouses, and the sturdy north country vigour of the men are most characteristic.

As has already been mentioned in the Introductory chapter and elsewhere, West Lancashire is still a stronghold of the old Roman Catholic faith, which in some villages is held by more than half the population.

Domesday names abound in this hundred, no less than between seventy and eighty having been identified with existing towns and villages. They are shown on Mr. Farrer's map in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* for 1900. Amongst them are Prestune (Preston), Frecheltune (Freckleton), Lea (Lea), Chicheham (Kirkham), Treueles (Treales), Broctun (Broughton), Bartun (Barton), Eglestun (Eccleston), Michelescherche (Saint Michaels-on-Wyre), Cherestang (Garstang), Catrehala (Catterall), Fortun (Forton), Pressouede (Preesall), Gusansarghe (Goosnargh), Grimesarge

^{*} Canon Isaac Taylor writes: "Fylde means a field or felled place, a space from which the trees have been felled and cleared. Thus we find Bispham-y-feld or Bispham in the field or Fylde. It is known that Belfast ships were built on the river Wyre with timber from the Fylde district."

(Grimsargh), Widetun (Weeton), Poltun (Poulton-le-Fylde), Biscopham (Bispham), and Rushale (Rossall).

A word may be said here as to the disposition of the Norse settlements in Lancashire as recorded in Domesday. A map in Baines's Lancashire, based on this survey, shows that these settlements were thick along the west coast from the Mersey northwards through the hundreds of West Derby, Leyland, Amounderness, and Lonsdale, a strip of country sixty miles in length and about fifteen miles in width. Beyond this, eastwards, the names are very scarce, in fact, we find no more than Salford (Salford), Mamecestre (Manchester), Radeclive (Radcliffe), Recedham (Rochdale), Blacheburne (Blackburn), Hunecot (Huncote), Ribelcastre (Ribchester), Wallei (Whalley), and Peneltune (Pendleton). It is thus clear that the colonists preferred the flat alluvial soil near the rivers, and did not care to penetrate much inland to the mountainous country of the Pennine range.

With such a large population of pre-Norman folk living in the hundreds of West Derby and Amounderness it is somewhat remarkable that so few crosses of that date are to be found, in fact, in the latter hundred none have come down to us; but these flat districts were no doubt more accessible to vandals and bigots than the secluded valleys of Cumberland and Westmorland, where many monuments of this character are still in existence. The few examples, however, that are left show that these people were thorough artists and highly cultured.

It is perhaps unnecessary to state that the maps of the six Lancashire hundreds, which accompany these notes, represent only the divisions of the county as they now exist. It would, however, be quite outside the scope of my present undertaking to attempt to describe the various alterations and combinations which in the course of centuries have taken place in these boundary lines.

Much light is thrown on this subject in articles on the "Domesday Survey" in the volumes for 1898 and 1900 of the Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, by Mr. William Farrer. In the latter volume he says: "The first account of Amounderness is recorded in the Life of St. Wilfrid of Ripon, where it is stated that the district of Amounderness was first given by certain Northumbrian magnates in the year 705 to the church of St. Peter of Ripon, upon the occasion of the consecration of that monastery. . . . Sometime between 705 and 930 Amounderness passed from the possession of the church of Ripon. Probably it was the scene of various Danish ravages during the hundred years 830 to 930. Subsequently it was acquired by King Athelstan 'by purchase and for no small sum of money,' who gave it to the church of St. Peter of York, by charter dated in 930 (Monasticon). Again, however, the church failed to retain possession of this estate, which lay open for an easy descent from the sea by roving Norsemen, by reason of the long coast line and of such favourable havens for landing as were afforded by the estuaries of the Ribble and the Wyre. When the house of Godwine rose to power, Amounderness was given to Harold's younger brother Tostig, together with Hougun, Halton, Wennington, and Bowland, with their respective members. The caput of this large estate or lordship was Preston. At the date of Domesday there were four parishes in Amounderness, viz., the parish of Preston, the chief manor, and three others, Kirkham, Kirk Poulton, and St. Michael's-on-Wyre, called Michael's Kirk. . While the land between Ribble and Mersey escaped destruction at the Conquest, because it was 'Terra Regis,'

and the Mercian population quietly accepted the change of rulers, the country between the Keer and the Ribble, if not given over to fire and sword, had been wasted and denuded of husbandmen, stock, and stores, when Tostig, the chief lord, took up arms against his brother, King Harold, and joined in the King of Norway's invasion, which ended with his and the invader's death at Stamford Bridge."

PRE-REFORMATION CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

Pre-Reformation Churches.—S. Wilfred, Preston (re-dedicated to S. John); S. Michael, Kirkham; S. Chad, Poulton-le-Fylde; S. Cuthbert, Lytham; S. Michaels-on-Wyre; S. Helen, Garstang Churchtown.

Pre-Reformation Chapels.—S. Mary the Virgin, Fernyhalgh; S. John the Baptist, Broughton; S. Lawrence, Barton; S. Mary, Syngleton (re-dedicated to S. Ann); S. Mary, Goosnargh; S. James, Whitechapel; S. Anne, Woodplumpton; S. John Baptist, Pilling; S. Eadnor, Bleasdale; S. James (formerly S. Oswald), Stalmine; S. Mary the Virgin, Hambleton; All Hallows, Bispham.

As has already been mentioned, four churches only are known to have been in existence at the time of the Domesday Survey: Prestune (Preston), Chicheham (Kirkham), Kirk Poulton, and Micheles-Cherche (S. Michaels-le-Wyre). Possibly, when graves are dug or excavations made in these churchyards, some remains of pre-Norman crosses may at some time or other be discovered, if suitable instructions are given. Leland in the reign of Henry VIII., in his enumeration of places in Garstang, mentions the village and chapel of Al Halois.

. No village or chapel of All Hallowes where the

Wyre "goeth into the mayne se" can now be discovered. Possibly, however, Bispham is the village referred to.

Monastic Institutions.—In Preston, (a) a settlement at Tulketh of Benedictine monks from Savigny, (b) a Franciscan convent of Grey Friars, and (c) a leper hospital (dedicated to S. Mary Magdalene); a Benedictine cell at Lytham (dedicated to SS. Mary and Cuthbert); and at Longridge, a hospital with master and brethren (dedicated to the Virgin and Our Saviour).

The ordnance maps and other documents record the existence at one time of between fifty and sixty ancient crosses, but many are known to have been destroyed through Protestant zeal. Natural decay and Cromwellian orders would account for many others which are now non-existent.

Holy Wells.—From the ordnance maps and other sources I have gathered particulars of no less than ten wells, which may fairly be placed in this category. They are: Fairy Well, Preesall; S. Ellin's Well, Bleasdale; S. Ann's Well (two miles north-west of Goosnargh Church); Arthur's Well (half a mile north-east of Goosnargh Church); S. Catherine's Well (three miles west of Preston Market Place); S. Mary's Well, Fernyhalgh; Lady Well, Preston; Holy Well, Broughton; Holy Well, Bispham; Holy Well, Ingol.*

^{*}An instance of the glorification of a well is to be seen (or was so when I sketched it in 1876) close to the church of S. Paul at Antwerp. The design consists of an elaborately carved and massive stone pillar between twenty and thirty feet in height, on the top of which sits the B.V.M. in glory, surrounded by gilded metal rays. A lamp projects from the upper portion of the pillar, carried by a long bracket of elaborate Renaissance ironwork. Attached to the lamp is the monogram of the Queen of Heaven so worked as to be read both ways. Below the lamp is some more elaborate ironwork carrying the handle of the pump.

The late Canon Isaac Taylor, writing on "Sacred Sites" in Words and Places, says: "Of the numerous places bearing the name of Holywell, Holy Island, and Holy Hill, many were probably the sites of an ancient pagan cultus, to which, in accordance with Gregory's well-weighed instructions, a Christian import was given by Augustine and his brother missionaries. Holy Hill is the highest point of ground in Kent. There are numerous Heiligenbrunns and Heilbrunns in Germany, to the waters of many of which a supernatural efficacy was supposed to attach. The original meaning of holy is healing."

Cockersand Abbey figures so largely in these pages, more particularly in the hundreds of West Derby and Amounderness, in connection with grants of lands, which were often defined by the erection of crosses of wood or stone, that a few words about the history of this institution may not be out of place here. The quotations which I have given are taken from volumes 38, 39, 40, and 43 of the Chetham Society's publications. The title of these volumes is as follows: The Chartulary of Cockersand Abbey of the Premonstratensian Order, printed from the original in the possession of Sir Thomas Brooke, Bart., F.S.A., of Armitage Bridge, near Huddersfield, transcribed and edited by William Farrer. Other volumes of this chartulary relating chiefly to the Lonsdale hundred will, it is hoped, shortly be printed.

The abbey was built close to the sea-shore, on the south side of the mouth of the river Lune, six miles south-south-west from Lancaster, near the south-west corner of the hundred of Lonsdale, and only about two miles north from the northern boundary of the Amounderness hundred. The chapter-house and some walls of the old building are still to be seen.

Mr. Farrer tells us in his preface to the chartulary that "towards the end of the reign of Henry II., circa 1180-1184, a pious recluse known as Hugh the Hermit established himself in this place, and, being held in reverence by the people of the country round about, was supported by their charitable gifts in the maintenance of first a hermitage and then a hospital for the infirm and lepers." Towards the end of the twelfth century an abbey took the place of the hospital.*

As frequent reference will be made to the books on this hundred written by Lieut.-Col. H. Fishwick, F.S.A., it may be convenient if I now catalogue them. They are as follows: (1) History of Goosnargh, Chetham Society, 1871; (2) History of Kirkham, Chetham Society, 1874; (3) History of Garstang, Chetham Society, vol. 1 1878, vol. 2 1879; (4) History of Poulton-le-Fylde, Chetham Society, 1885; (5) History of Bispham, Chetham Society, 1887; (6) History of S. Michaels-on-Wyre,† Chetham Society, 1891; (7) History of the Parish of Preston, published by James Clegg, Rochdale, and Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, 1900.

^{*&}quot;Be it noted that the monastery of Cokersand was furst founded by Hugh Garthe, an heremyt of great perfection, and by suche Charitable almes as the said Hugh dyd gather in the Countre he founded an Hospitall callid Cockersand with iij Chanons in the said Hospitall, a master and ij brethren and was called the Mr of the Hospitall of Cockersand. Then of long tyme after yt was chaunged from the Hospitall to a Priory and within certeyn yeres after to an Abbey of White Chanons. And for as moche as the said house was maney tymes troubled at the tyme of ther Ellection of theyre Abbot, with the gentilmen of the cuntrey theyre neyghbors, they made sute to the Kyng for his mayntenaunce, to have free election amongest them selfe and bound ther said house for that priuilege to geve to the Kyng at every Election xxs to the Kyng and to his heyres Kynges."—"Visitation of the North," by Norroy, Ao. 1530, Harl. MS., 1499, Art. 69.

[†] The Archangel Michael, as is well known, was the patron saint of high places. Why this church, built on such low-lying and frequently inundated land, was dedicated to him is enigmatical.

PRESTON.

Like so many other ancient towns, Preston—for defensive purposes—was built on high ground in the loop of a river. It has thus an imposing appearance as seen from the meadows on the south side of the Ribble. The strategic importance of the site, and the fact of the town being on a great Roman and subsequently mediæval highway, led to its being the scene of many conflicts during the stormy periods of English history. The Roman camp was at Walton-le-Dale, about one mile south-east of the centre of the town on the tongue of land formed by the junction of the river Darwen with the Ribble. The castle on the hill at Penwortham, possibly a Roman outpost and subsequently a pre-Norman stockaded hill fort, must have proved an efficient barrier to invaders attempting to reach the town by water.

The late Canon Raines writes:* "In 1363 the County of Lancaster was erected into a Palatinate, under John of Gaunt, and Preston was constituted the chief seat of the Duchy and Palatine Courts. The fine Baronial Castle of the Dukes of Lancaster on the banks of the Lune alone prevented their establishing the capital of the county where it ought to have been fixed—on the banks of the Ribble."

So late as the beginning of the eighteenth century the town was of comparatively small dimensions; it extended on the east to the end of Church Street, on the west half way down Fishergate, and on the north to the end of Friargate, where was a windmill, but the markets were numerous. Dr. Kuerden, writing towards the end of the seventeenth century, enumerates them as for meat, fish,

^{*} Gastrell's Notitia Cestriensis, p. 461, vol. ii., part 3.

butter, and cheese, "the fish all in a row upon the fish stones, the butter, cheese and pullen about the butter cross in the Cheapside market, and bread nere unto the fish market. The barley market was in the market place, the corn market began when the corn bell rang." He enumerates besides the horse market, the swine market, the sheep market, and others. Dr. Kuerden then describes a secondary market place, "Molyneux Square, in Lancaster Road, with a draw well in the midst thereof, into which the Mayor & counsell did intend to translate their fish stones or fish market out of the larger market place."

On George Lang's map of the town (1774) the principal streets are still Fishergate, Churchgate, Friargate, and a number of small streets surrounding the market place. South of Fishergate is Town End Field, probably a place of ancient assembly, now Winckley Square.*

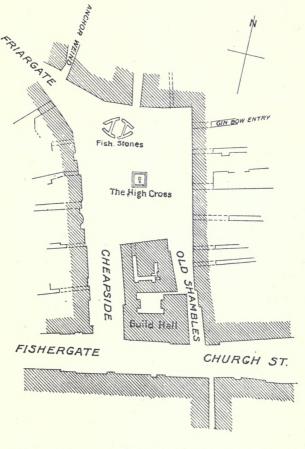
Although many of the mediæval features of Preston have been obliterated during the last hundred years by the growth of the cotton industry, yet a record of much that is interesting is preserved on the plans of the town made half a century ago by the ordnance surveyors. These plans are drawn to the large scale of five feet to one mile.

The market place is there shown as a parallelogram, about one hundred and twenty-five yards from north to south, and fifty yards from east to west. These measure-

^{*&#}x27;'At this period [1700] Preston, besides being the centre of the legal business of the county, and the place where the county business was then, as now, transacted, was the residence of many families of note who had "Town-houses." Amongst these may be mentioned Sir Christopher Greenfield, James, Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Derby, Sir Thos. Stanley, Bart., Nicholas Starkie, Attorney-General for the County, Sir Cyril Wych, John Weddell, Vice-Chancellor of the County, Sir Gervase Elwes, Bart., and others."—Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Transactions for 1900.

ments include the ground occupied by the moot hall and some old shops.

The obelisk or market cross with its steps, which were



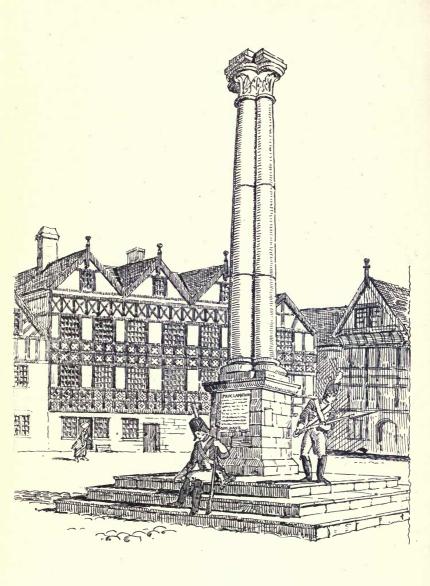
removed in the year 1853, is shown to have stood about thirty yards south of the north side of the market place, and equidistant from the west and the east sides. The Fish Stones, built in 1605 and removed in 1853, were near the north-west exit from the market place at the bottom of Friargate. The structure was oval in form, and unusually large, being forty feet in length and over thirty feet in width.*

The picturesque half-timbered houses, which appear in so many views of the market place on its southerly side, had not then been pulled down. The usual instruments of punishment—the pillory (last used in 1814), the whipping post, and the stocks—have long since disappeared from the market place. The bull ring is still there.

The oldest plan of the town which I have yet seen, bearing the name of H. Hulsbergh as engraver, is in the Binns Collection at the Liverpool Free Library. The date is subsequent to the 1715 rising. Four crosses are marked on it: (a) The historic Market Cross or High Cross in the market place; (b) the Butter Cross; (c) a cross in Mew Street, near Molineux Square, reached by Gin Bow Entry from the market place; (d) a cross at the junction of Friargate with Maudland Road and Moor Lane.

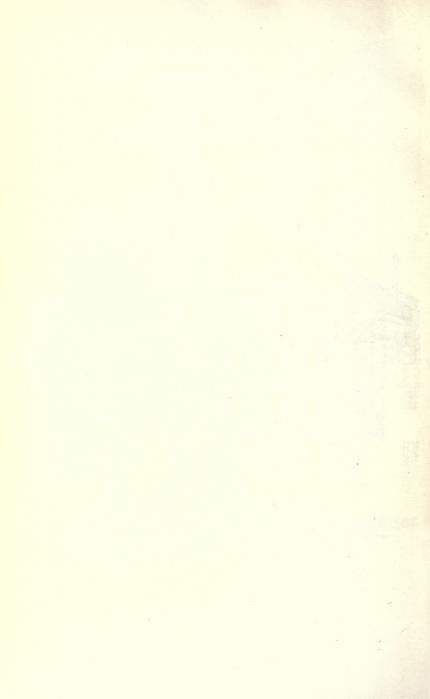
The High Cross.—Mr. Hewitson, in his *History of Preston*, says that, according to Nicholl's *Port-folio*, a cross was erected in the market place in 1274 by

^{*} In Baines's Gazetteer of Lancashire (published in 1824, prior to the vast changes brought about by railways and the rapid increase of manufactures) there is much of interest to the antiquary. Thus, in searching for some reason why the fish stones in the market place at Preston were of such unusual size, we find that the market was abundantly supplied with excellent fish from the ancient fishery in the river Ribble, and that Lytham, North Meols, and Heysham also contributed largely. The author, however, tells us that the Manx fishers, who supplied many other Lancashire towns, had a superstitious horror of some imaginary danger in the navigation of the Ribble, which prevented their coming to Preston.



PRESTON MARKET CROSS.
A.D. 1782-1855.

Taken mainly from a sketch in Whittle's "History of Preston," 1821.



"Willus Fitzpaul, Armiger, and Burgess in Parliament." This statement is not supported by any definite evidence, but there is little doubt that a market cross stood here at a very early period in the history of the town. Mr. Hardwick tells us that a successor of this cross was removed in the year 1729, for a conduit was built on the site of the old cross, which apparently stood on the easterly side of the market place. Subsequently an obelisk was erected on this site, but prior to 1782 it fell or was taken down. A new obelisk took its place; it consisted of a clustered Gothic column, thirty-one feet high, standing on a square pedestal six feet eight inches in height. This pedestal rested on a flight of three steps.* This structure was, as has already been stated, wantonly and without any necessity taken down in the year 1853, and the remains are in the grounds of the late Mr. R. Threlfall, of Hollowforth, Woodplumpton.

As the guild ceremonials cannot be properly carried out in the absence of the High Cross, would it not be well if the inhabitants of Preston rebuilt it, following a recent example at Lancaster?

Preston being on the highway to Scotland, was visited during the contests between the English and Scotch by various English monarchs. Thus in the year 1306 Edward I. passed through Preston, where he issued a proclamation appointing the Archbishop of York and others his wardens during his absence from England. This proclamation would undoubtedly be made at the High Cross. Edward III. also halted in the town on his way to Scotland. Ample records exist of the visit which James I. paid to Preston in the year 1617.

^{*} The same process went on in Scotland as in England. In the course of successive rebuildings the original Gothic market cross became in time a classical pillar with a ball or a tiny cross or both on the top of it. Many examples are given in Small's Scottish Market Crosses.

In 1651 Charles II., on his way from Scotland, was proclaimed king at the High Cross, and subsequently, in 1715, the same ceremony was performed in honour of the Pretender. In the previous year a proclamation was made at this spot for enforcing the penal laws against Popish recusants in anticipation of the Stuart rising.

THE BUTTER CROSS is shown on Hulsbergh's map in the short street leading out of the south-west corner of the market place into Fishergate, still called Cheapside.

Mr. Hewitson writes, quoting from the corporation order book in 1695, that somebody appears to have taken away some of the stones of the cross, and that an order was given that the missing stones should be found, if possible, and therewith or otherwise cause the Butter Cross to be sufficiently repaired. The following reference to the Butter Cross occurs in the corporation accounts for the year 1639: "The scavenger is to have allowed 'hym for his wages for cleancinge the street, videlt, all the middle pte of the streete over against Mr Morte, his door, and so all about the Butter Cross, the whole Markett-place and all along the Church wall side the some of . . . 4s. . . About the year 1699 the authorities resolved that for the better going in the streets in the winter evenings in the decrease of the moon, or when clouds interpose, four lamps should be provided. One of these was placed in the Market-square, one near the Parish Church, one at the top of Main-sprit-wiend, and another near the Butter-Cross.

MEW STREET CROSS.—A similar cross is shown on Hulsbergh's map in a small court about one hundred yards north-east from the market place. The streets hereabouts have been altered since the date of this map. The Fish Stones are shown in this little market place, probably the corn market, on the 1848 map, but the cross had then disappeared.

FRIARGATE CROSS.—This cross is shown on the map close to a windmill at the end of Friargate, at its junction with Maudland Road and Moor Lane. These four crosses are all shown as Latin crosses on flights of steps.

RED CROSS STREET.—These words occur on the ordnance map one hundred yards west of the Franciscan friary and about half a mile west of the market place, and may indicate the site of another cross.

Streets were similarly named in London, Liverpool, Manchester, and elsewhere. In some cases positive evidence exists that crosses, probably red in colour,* actually stood at one time, or may still stand, on these sites, but where such information is wanting the origin of the name is open to conjecture. It is probable that some streets were so named in consequence of a red cross having been painted or placed upon one or more of the houses in the time of plague, and in other cases from an heraldic cross or an inn sign. In the History of Sign Boards, by Larwood and Hotten, no less than fourteen inns are mentioned as named from crosses. The authors state that: "Crosses of various colours were probably amongst the first signs put up by the newly converted Christians (as soon as they could effect this with impunity) on account of the recommendation of the early fathers, and for their beneficial influence.

^{*} In Calverley's Early Sculptured Crosses in the Diocese of Carlisle illustrations are given of a White Cross and of a Red Cross at Bromfield, fifteen miles south-west from Carlisle, so named from the colour of the stone.

. . S. Ephrem says, 'Let us paint and imprint on our doors the life giving cross; thus defended no evil will hurt you.' S. Chrysostom says the same, 'Wherefore let us with earnestness impress this cross on our houses, and on our walls, and our windows.' . . . Hence the custom in Roman Catholic places of painting crosses on the walls of houses to drive away witches, as it is said; and these crosses being painted in different colours might easily serve as a sign by which to designate the house. At the Crusades the popularity of this emblem increased; a red cross was the badge of the Crusader, and would be put up as a sign by men who had been to the Holy Land. or wished to court the patronage of those on their way thither. Finally, the different orders of knighthood settled each upon a particular colour as their distinctive mark. Thus the Knights of S. John wore white crosses, the Templars red crosses, the Knights of S. Lazarus green crosses, the Teutonic knights black crosses embroidered with gold, &c. But the most common in England was the red cross, which was the cross of S. George and also of the Red Cross Knights, who acted as a sort of police on the roads between Europe and the Holy Land to protect pilgrims. This badge, therefore, could not fail to be very popular. . . Only very few signs of the cross are now remaining. The Golden Cross in the Strand is one of these, and has been in that locality for centuries." I have, however, noticed that near Mab's Cross, Wigan, there is a Golden Cross Inn. In the West Derby hundred crosses are to be found in various localities, painted or cut in stone, to mark the resting-places for funeral processions in the roads or streets.

PRESTON MOOR CROSS.—These words occur on the map on Preston Moor, at the intersection of roads one

and a quarter miles north-north-east from Preston Market Place, and half a mile south-east from "The Manor House." All traces of this cross have disappeared.

The words "Gallows Hill" occur on the map about three-quarters of a mile north-north-west of the market place on the east side of the great north road leading to Lancaster and Scotland. The words record the scene of many tragic events in English history.

The custom of burying criminals at cross roads (already referred to) was carried down in Lancashire to a comparatively late date, for we are told in Tulket's *History of Preston* that, in the savage suppression of the 1715 rising, "Of the forty-two prisoners executed at this time for taking part in the Jacobite rising, sixteen were hanged and decapitated at Preston, afterwards their bodies interred at the corners of streets, their heads exposed on poles to the derision of the people."

THE PARISH CHURCH, formerly dedicated to S. Wilfred, but changed to S. John when rebuilt about the year 1581, stands on the south side of Church Street, and is about two hundred yards south-east from the centre of the market place. It was again rebuilt in the year 1853.

Colonel Fishwick, writing in *The Journal of the Archæological Association* for 1895 on "Pre-Norman Churches in Lancashire," says, "Preston is dedicated to S. Wilfred, therefore could not have been founded before the eighth century. No trace of the Saxon foundation has been preserved. Kirkham may possibly be an earlier foundation than Preston, as it is in a very large parish. . . ."

The monastic institutions in Preston, if we include Penwortham, were four in number. They were all situated on the westerly side of the town.

FRANCISCAN FRIARY.—The site of this building is shown on the large 1848 map of the town a short half mile nearly due west from the market place and four hundred vards south-west of Friargate. A detailed description of its foundation is given in Fishwick's History of Preston. After the Dissolution, it became a house of correction, and was used for that purpose until the prison at the bottom of Church Street was erected in 1790. The site now forms a portion of an iron foundry. It was variously called a Friary or the House of the Friars Minor or the Monastery of the Grey Friars. Baines says that in its original state it was a small square collegiate building with a chapel attached to its quadrangular cloisters. So many of the streets of the town were rebuilt and so many vacant spaces covered before the date of the ordnance survey, fifty years ago, and so many alterations were caused by the formation of canals and railways that the access to this house from the market place and older parts of the town cannot now be ascertained with accuracy. It was, however, probably from some narrow lane off Friargate. The words Friars' Field occur on the map two hundred yards north-west from the Franciscan Friary.

The Augustinians, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Carmelites were the four mendicant orders whose sphere of labour lay among the crowded population of great cities. The Benedictines and Cistercians had their establishments, for the most part, in country districts, where they discharged the duties of great feudal landowners.

OUR LADY'S WELL.—The site is marked on the ordnance map at a spot about one hundred yards northeast from the Franciscan friary, from which it is now

separated by the Lancaster Canal. To the east of it is Lady Well Street.

Baines states that at a short distance from the friary there was an ancient well, called Lady Well, frequented within living memory by the devout.

Mr. Hewitson, in his *History of Preston*, says that he examined the site in the year 1883, but could find no trace of the well. It was probably destroyed when the canal was made.

Mr. Hardwick,* writing on "Well Worship," remarks that water, both in ancient and modern times, has been largely employed as a symbol of purity, and, in the Roman Catholic church especially, has been consecrated to religious purposes and rendered "holy." He writes: "Hence, it is not surprising that many springs, and especially in the neighbourhood of religious houses. should in the Middle Ages have been invested with a sacred character, or that superstition of a more ancient and heathen origin should yet as it were haunt their precincts. . . . Many such wells as those in connection with the 'Old Friary' at Preston, which gave the name to Ladywell Street in that borough, like that which performed a similar office for the late notorious 'Holywell Street,' near the Strand, in London, have passed away, and left nothing behind but the street nomenclature referred to."

The words "Spaw Baths" occur on the 1848 ordnance maps in the grounds attached to Marsh House, three hundred yards west of S. Mary Magdalen's Hospital, a quarter of a mile south-east from the Benedictine monastery, and the same distance north of the Ribble, and they may in all probability record the site, as in so many similar instances, of another holy well.

^{*} Traditions, Superstitions, and Folk-lore, p. 268.

S. Mary Magdalen's Hospital.—Proceeding for about half a mile in a north-westerly direction from the Franciscan friary we reach the site of this building, which is duly marked on the ordnance map in ancient Gothic letters, and close to it on the west are the words "Site of S. Mary Magdalen's Church."

Colonel Fishwick tells us that this building was an established hospital for lepers in the reign of Henry II. (1154-89), together with two others in north Lancashire, and he speaks of the cruelties shown to those who did not find shelter in the hospitals piously founded for their benefit. The chapel attached to the hospital is referred to in a deed dated July, 1331. In the year 1349 the chapel was closed for some weeks in consequence of the ravages made by the black death. Colonel Fishwick says: "Pilgrims from various parts of the country at this period made visits to this chapel of the lepers, and to encourage them Henry, Duke of Lancaster, applied to the Pope, in 1355 on their behalf, for a relaxation of a year and forty days' enjoined penance, to those penitents who made such visits on the principal feast days of the year, and on those of S. Mary Magdalen and S. Thomas of Canterbury." A Roman Catholic chapel and schools now occupy the site.

Mr. Farrer has favoured me with an inspection of his copy of the charters relating to this hospital, which are preserved in the great coucher book of the duchy of Lancaster, kept in the Public Record Office. I give a quotation from one of the deeds, in which a cross is mentioned: "Sciant chici & laici tam futuri qin p'sentes qd ego Adam filius Gamelli de Ingole dedi &c. & hac carta mea p'senti confirmavi Hospitali beate Marie Magdalene & fribz leprosis extra villam de Prestona manentibz in puram & ppetuam elemosinam quartam partem cuiusdam t're infra

has divisas, scilicet sicut clogiuxta crocshutte in occidentali parte descendit in Ingolebroc, sequendo ingolebrok vsqz ad magnam quercum combustam in orientali parte, & a q̃rcu p'nominata in directo vsqz ad crucem nõiatam sup fossam vnam. . . ."—(N.D.)

BENEDICTINE MONASTERY, TULKETH.—The site of this building is marked on the ordnance maps in ancient Gothic letters, about half a mile north-west by west from S. Mary Magdalen's Hospital and a quarter of a mile north of the Ribble.

Leland has assumed that the monks whom West, in his Antiquities of Furness, tells us "came into England under the direction of Evanus, from Savigny, and seating themselves at Tulket, chose him to be their first abbot," built a monastery there. As they stopped in Preston for a few years only (leaving about 1128), it is probable that they merely utilised buildings which were then in existence on the site.

West says: "On a rising ground, at a small distance to the south-west of Tulket Hall, some ruins and part of the fosse which surrounded the principal buildings of that monastery, are still visible. There are, however, good reasons to believe that this fosse or moat is of a higher antiquity than either the arrival of Evanus and his monks, or the Norman Conquest." The migration of these monks was to Furness, where they were masters of a great tract of country, and in the course of time finished the magnificent abbey, so much of which now remains to delight the eye.

The rigid rules of mediæval monastic institutions would seem to preclude the possibility of change or evolution, but such changes or developments were inevitable. Thus, the small colony of Benedictines settled for a time at Tulketh, under a severe and cruel discipline, developed after their migration to Low Furness into the more useful order of Cistercian monks, their days occupied with much else besides the repetition of prayers and the observance of vigils.

Penwortham Priory stood three quarters of a mile due south of the monastery at Tulketh, and thus practically belonged to the town of Preston, being one of the four religious houses which once stood within a circle of less than a mile in diameter. The usual means of communication between the priories at Tulketh and Penwortham was doubtless by the ford or ferry shown on the map in the chapter on the hundred of Leyland, for Penwortham Bridge is a comparatively modern structure.

In a chapter on "The Battle for Freedom: Towns on Church Estates,"* Mrs. Green expresses the opinion that burghers had still to discover that freedom might be won anywhere save at the hands of an ecclesiastical lord. How far Preston had to struggle in this way is not certain, but the religious houses, as we have seen, were numerous, and the house of Cockersand was anciently a large proprietor of lands in Preston, the number of their tenants in that town and neighbourhood amounting to one hundred and thirty-nine. The dissolution of the religious houses is often attributed to the personal and secondary motives of Henry VIII., but the contests between the towns and the Church, which are so graphically described by Mrs. Green, had certainly prepared the way for this great upheaval.

"The ambition of every religious house,"† Mr. Capes

^{*} Town Life in the Fifteenth Century.

[†] A History of the English Church, edited by the late Very Rev. W. R. W. Stephens, B.D. (dean of Winchester). Macmillan, 1901.

says, "was to free itself from episcopal control. . . . The monks hugged their privileges, and kept the bishops, if possible, at arm's length, but they looked with no kindly eye upon the friars, whom they thought pushing and insidious rivals. . . . The parish priests had little cause to love either of the two rival classes. The monks had steadily encroached and robbed the parishes of their tithes." Many of these controversies connected with the Lancashire religious houses, some of which had to be referred to the Pope, are recorded in the *History of Lancaster Church*, by Mr. W. O. Roper, F.S.A. (Chetham Society, vols. 26 and 31).

The practical result of all this turmoil, a description of which meets us on almost every page of these interesting volumes, is that much beautiful mediæval architecture, which once adorned the streets of Preston, has now disappeared for ever.

Mr. Hardwick writes: "The privilege of guild merchant appears to have been held in Preston by prescriptive right anterior to its chartered recognition; yet little information has descended relative to the original modus operandi of this ancient institution. It is certain, however, that the necessity for enrolment as a burgess was imperative at a very early period upon every person who wished to embark in trade within the jurisdiction of the corporation. The periodical festival of the guild merchant originated in the necessity which called together both the resident and the non-resident burgesses to renew their freedom. and sanction such laws as, from time to time, might be deemed beneficial to the fraternity. These meetings in the earlier times appear to have been held at irregular intervals, but since the year 1562 a guild merchant has been regularly celebrated once in each twenty years. The earliest celebration of which any specific record has been preserved took place in 1329, in the second year of the reign of King Edward III."*

Although the burgesses in many mediæval towns were constantly at warfare with the Church, yet in their bargains and in their festivals the chief visible symbol of Christianity—the market cross†—seems to have always been a focus of interest, and to have been treated with as much outward reverence and respect as were the inmates of the various religious establishments in the locality, who so often took part in joint processions through the ancient streets, as is still the picturesque custom in many of the old provincial towns in France.

The late Canon Isaac Taylor, writing on "Sacred Sites" in Words and Places, says: "Numerous names, such as Preston and Prestwich, record the sites of the long-secularised possessions of nuns, abbots, priors, bishops, friars, monks, and priests, and the same author, in Names and their Histories, writes: "There are fortynine places called Preston (A.S., préost, a priest), and many more called Prestwick, Prestwich, Prestcot, and Prestbury, doubtless denoting places with a resident priest, which, as we learn from Domesday, was quite exceptional."

^{*} In Town Life in the Fifteenth Century the origin and history of merchant guilds in the more important towns of England is dealt with at some length. Thus, "At Plymouth the first stirrings of independent life seem to have begun about 1282, when the Sutton people, wanting to be free burgesses [freed from the domination of the Augustinians] and to have their fair and market, begged for a piece of waste ground near the port . . . where the king's bailiff held his court in a certain house, and where every fishing boat to dry nets or sails paid toll to the king. They set up a stone cross and a stall for their market; in 1311 they made a final agreement with the prior." . . . It was not, however, until the year 1440 that the Plymouth Guild Merchant was given a definite position.

^{†&}quot;Town councils forbade workmen to make their bargains anywhere save openly at the market cross, and fined them if they stood there beyond one day in the week."—Town Life in the Fifteenth Century.

Whether the word Preston has this signification or not (the tun or enclosure of the priest), certain it is that the streets at times must have been filled, if not with actual priests, yet with men from the various religious houses, who had taken the religious vow. An illustration may be taken from Whittle's History of Preston: "The guild of 1397 being the twentieth year of Richard II., procession from S. Maudland's Hospital in the Spittal through Friar's-gate, by the cross to Fishersgate, then Finkle Street, to the church, mass sung, the bells ringing 'were withal,' dinner served for the fraternities, crosses borne before each company with a friar from the convent at the head of each." A perusal of the chartularies of the religious houses, dating from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, which so vividly illustrate the history of Lancashire at that epoch, must indeed convince the most casual reader that England was at that time, in all its religious observances, a thoroughly Roman Catholic country.

The antiquary Kuerden has given a long description of the festival of the Preston Guild, as carried out in his time, and which from the earliest known periods was celebrated with much pomp and profuse hospitality. This document has been printed in Hardwick's *History of Preston* and elsewhere. I give below a few extracts from it:—

The Mayor first proceeding from his own House, with his more private attendance to the Town Hall, where the 12 Aldermen attend his coming in their brown fur'd Robes, with the rest of his Council in their Gownes appropriat; from whence, with the sound of trumpet, they march to the High Crosse in the Market-place, where, after proclamation there made that the Guild is now to be opened and solemnized, in the interim the Bells ringing . . . and all his noble retinue, returning back towards the Market-place, to the High Crosse, where the Schollmaster himselfe entertains them with a learned speech, and verses concerning the prosperous Government of his Majestie, and his gracious confirmation their unparalled franchises of a Gild Merchant in such grandeur to be solemnis'd

each 20 years, after which a Hogshead of Wine standing at the Crosse, is broached, the King's and Queen's health drunk, with joyfull acclamations of the people and volleys of shot as aforesaid, all the Companys of Trades, Soldiers, Mayor's guards in good order surrounding the High Crosse.

The last celebration took place in September, 1902, Lord Derby being the guild mayor. A detailed description of the guild festivities from the earliest times is given in Fishwick's *Preston*, together with a list of the mayors from 1327.

The moot or guild hall was probably many times rebuilt during the history of the town, which suffered much from the raids of the Scotch, by fire, and otherwise in mediæval times. It stood where the town hall now stands, at the southerly end of the market place. Dr. Kuerden has described the building as it appeared towards the end of the seventeenth century: "In the middle of the Burrough is placed an ample antient and yet well beautifyed gylde or town hall or toll bothe to which is annexed at the end thereof a counsell chamber for the capitall burgesses or jurors. . . . Under this hall are ranged two rows of butchers shopps on either side and a row at either end."

Whittle says that the town or moot hall fell down in June, 1780, and that a new one was built on the same site and finished in 1782. It was again rebuilt in the year 1862.

Mr. T. Stanley Ball, writing on the history of Preston in the *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* for 1896, says: "The guild itself being held at long and uncertain intervals of time, it was apparently ordained that between the successive holdings of the guild the method of government was to be by means of a court called 'port mote,' presided over by the mayor.

. . A 'port mote' was solely a town's meeting;

the derivation being from *portus*, a town, and *mote*, a meeting. . . . The ordinary 'port mote' was held at frequent intervals; but there were two 'great port motes' in each year, which were subsequently transformed into courts leet."

Mr. Gomme (Primitive Folk-Moots; or, Open-air Assemblies in Britain) states that these folk-moots represent "all that primitive man had to fall back upon in his struggles for right and justice in his connection with men of his own tribe or village, and perhaps with those of foreign tribes or villages." "The various folk-moots may be recapitulated in descending scale as shire-moots, hundred-moots, tithing-moots, also manor-moots and borough-moots."

Another useful contribution to this subject appeared in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* for 1887, in an article on "Folk-moots of Lancashire and Cheshire," by Mr. H. T. Crofton.

Many of the mediæval customs of the town were in full force so late as the year 1821. Whittle,* writing at that time, says: "The following method is resorted to by the body corporate for proclaiming any great event. The grand procession mostly proceeds from the moot or guild hall to the obelisk, in the market place, where the proclamation is read, in a clear and audible voice, by the grand seneschal or town clerk, the cavalcade remaining with their heads uncovered during the reading; they then proceed to the Friargate, Fishergate, and Church Street tollbars, and the proclamation is read again."

The same author, writing about the year 1820, before the railway era, usually spoke of the "Moot or guild hall,"

^{*}Tulket was a nom de plume for Whittle, who was a devout Roman Catholic, and author of a history and directory of Preston published in 1821.

rather than of the town hall. The use of the word "moot" for this building in Preston has now almost entirely died out. It is called the guild or town hall.

Preston, like Warrington and many other Lancashire towns, was once full of houses, built during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in the beautiful style of black-and-white or half-timbered architecture, at a period in our history when forests of primæval oaks, being more readily available than brick and stone for building purposes, tempted the woodman to use his axe and saw.

WAYSIDE CROSSES NEAR PRESTON.

The ordnance maps record the existence of four ancient crosses on the six miles of road leading out of Preston in a north-easterly direction through Grimsargh to Longridge, and it may be that some of the numerous crosses shown on the map of the Blackburn hundred, between Longridge and Whalley Abbey, were placed there for the guidance of travellers over those wild moors, so forming a complete series from Preston to that abbey. If this route between Preston and Whalley were taken, a distance of about fifteen miles, there would be an almost continuous range of crosses. Leaving Preston by this road, the first cross we come to is at Ribbleton Lane. The records of the 1848 ordnance maps are as follows:—

RIBBLETON LANE CROSS.—"Pedestal of a stone cross," one and a half miles north-east from Preston Market Place, on the east side of Ribbleton Lane.

RIBBLETON MOOR CROSS.—"Pedestal of a stone cross" near the roadside, on Ribbleton Moor, two and a quarter miles north-east from Preston Market Place.

GRIMSARGH CROSS.—"Pedestal of a stone cross," three and three-quarter miles north-east from Preston Market Place, on the south side of the road, and one-eighth of a mile south of Grimsargh Church. The words "Three-Mile Cross" appear on the map close to the pedestal.

BOLTON FOLD CROSS.—"Pedestal of a stone cross" at the meeting of a lane with the high-road between Preston and Longridge, three quarters of a mile south-south-west from Longridge.

HOLY WELL, INGOL.—The site of this holy well is about two miles in a north-westerly direction from Preston Market Place. It was a walled-in structure reached by a flight of steps, but it has now disappeared owing to landslips.

On a previous page a deed has been printed from the Coucher Book of S. Mary Magdalen's Hospital relating to land in this locality. The document is undated, but was probably signed at the end of the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century. A cross is referred to in it, and it is possible that here were a well and cross in juxtaposition. Appended is a translation of the deed: "Let clergy and laymen, present and to come, know that I, Adam, son of Gamell de Ingole, have given and confirmed to the Hospital of the blessed Mary Magdalene and leper brethren dwelling without the town of Preston, in pure alms, the fourth part of certain land within these bounds, namely, where the clough (clog) by the Crocshutte on the western side descends into Ingolebroc, following Ingolebroc unto the great burnt oak on the eastern side, and from the said oak in a straight line to the afore-named (sic) cross upon a ditch, and so proceeding in a straight line into the afore-named clough, with common of pasture in wood and field. These being witnesses: Walter son of Osbert, Henry de la Le, Geoffrey de Barton, William de Winequic, Robert son of Arthur de Eshton, Ralph the reeve of Preston, Roger his son, William Fitun, William son of Ingrid, Adam the smith, Warin de Witinghaim, Alon son of Richard son of Utred, and many others (Great Coucher, I., f. 81, No. 9).

S. CATHERINE'S WELL, LEA.—The words "S. Catherine's Well" appear on the 1848 ordnance map in ancient Gothic letters, close to the north bank of the

Ribble, a quarter of a mile north of Lea Marsh, and three miles west from Preston Market Place. The site is two miles west from Penwortham Priory. This well has been disused for some years. The scenes in the martyrdom of this virgin are carved with striking force on some panels now to be seen in the pulpit of the Roman Catholic Church at Lydiate, placed there by the late Father Powell, and admirably described in the Rev. T. E. Gibson's Lydiate Hall and its Associations. They once formed part of the reredos of S. Catherine's Chapel in that village, a building of pre-Reformation date.

The words "White Lion Cross," in Italics, and the words "Stone Cross," in ancient Gothic letters, appear on the map about three quarters of a mile east from the village of Longridge on the boundary line between the hundreds of Blackburn and Amounderness. This existing stone cross is described in the chapter on the hundred of Blackburn.

Norcross.—This word appears on the map one and a half miles south-east by south from Longridge village and near it is Norcross Wood.

Broughton, Fernyhalgh, Barton, and Goosnargh.

Churchyard Cross, Broughton.—The church (an ancient chapelry) is situated about three miles north-north-west from Preston Market Place. The site of the cross is south of the church. The steps remain, but are surmounted by a sundial. The structure is shown on page 139 of Fishwick's *History of the Parish of Preston*. The vicar (the Rev. S. E. Collinson) writes, 12th October, 1901, that the calvary or flight of three steps is still in

existence, carried on solid rubble work lower than any possible grave. The steps are of coarse millstone grit from Longridge. The font appears to be of early Norman date. Mr. Collinson explains the origin of a curious superstition connected with the font. It appears that the drain from it reaches a bed of quicksand, and, until the churchyard was thoroughly drained, the water rose up in the font and actually overflowed from it. On these occasions people from far and near brought their children to dip for the king's-evil.

BROUGHTON HOLY WELL.—This well dried up when the churchyard was drained. The site is in Broughton Church Lane. The dedication is unknown.

Another well is in a lane one hundred and fifty yards south of the church. The stocks have been re-erected at the church gates by the parish council as a memorial of the coronation of Edward VII.

Daniels Cross.—The site is in a lane at the beginning of an avenue leading to Broughton Old Hall; the spot is about two-thirds of a mile north of Broughton Church. The base was removed about sixty years ago. It is now in a neighbouring pit. The facts were obtained from an old man who helped at the destruction of this landmark. The pit was emptied some years ago, and the statement found to be true.

DUXEN DEAN CROSS.—The site is at the meeting of lanes one mile north-east from Broughton Church. Not shown on the ordnance map. The base is now covered up by the cop of the hedge.

Mr. Collinson thinks that many of the crosses immediately to the north of Preston mark the boundaries of townships, that is, they are gang day or rogation day

crosses. The boundaries of manors were often identical with those of townships. Manor houses are very numerous in this locality.

D'URTON LANE CROSS.—The word "cross" occurs on the map in D'Urton Lane, at the intersection of roads three quarters of a mile east from Broughton Church, indicating that in the year 1848 a complete ancient cross stood here. Rev. S. E. Collinson writes, 12th October, 1901, that the base of this cross was broken up a few years ago for rubbing stones.

D'URTON GREEN CROSS.—The word "cross" appears on the ordnance map at the intersection of roads on D'Urton Green, two hundred and fifty yards east from D'Urton Lane Cross, close to Broughton Hall. A complete cross must have been there in 1848.

"Boggart House" is one and a half miles north-west from Broughton Church.

WHITE CROSS.—These words appear on the map at the meeting of roads, three-quarters of a mile north from Woodplumpton Church. On visiting the spot I came to the conclusion that the cross, which I found cut on a white-washed house, marked a station for funeral processions. The site is about two miles north-west by west from Broughton Church.

"Cross House" is shown on the map one and threequarter miles north of Woodplumpton Church.

FERNYHALGH CROSS.—The words "stone crosses" appear on the ordnance map three miles north-east by north of Preston, and "Site of Fernyhalgh Chapel," "S. Mary's Well," and "Ladywell House," all close together. In Fishwick's *History of Preston*, p. 149, a sketch is given

of "Remains of cross near Fernyhalgh Chapel, showing a pedestal, bearing the date 1663, and a portion of the shaft."

Whittle, in his History of Preston, writes: "The last time we visited Fernyhalgh was in the month of February, 1821. The ancient cross stone was entirely perfect, sitting as usual in the copse, almost covered with underwood and entwined with ivy. This olden relic of our forefathers stands close to the Lady's Well. . . . The hunting of Roman Catholics appears to have died out in the summer of 1717, for the Fernyhalgh records say, 'since which time we have prayed six months openly at Lady's Well. . . . But these halcyon days soon expired. For the commissioners' return and abode at Preston interrupted our peace, so that on the 29th June, 1718, was the last day of public praying at our Lady's Well.' . . . In 1719 the Catholics were allowed to return, and the record states: 'We began to pray at our Lady's Well, privately, on the 5th day of August, 1723, and publicly on 15th of August in the same year.' . . . It appears that to worship God with any Catholic solemnity at these unhappy times, which we hope will never return, was deemed a crime more severely punishable than robbery or murder."

OUR LADY'S WELL, FERNYHALGH.—The romantic story connected with this holy well I have already given with sufficient detail in the Introductory chapter.

Colonel Fishwick in his *History of Preston*, in referring to the well which is still to be seen, says that it was known as "Our Lady's Well," and "here on Sundays and holy-days the Roman Catholics were wont to assemble from far and near during the days of persecution."

The well is thus described in Hewitson's History of of Preston, 1883: "About a quarter mile south of Fernyhalgh Roman Catholic Chapel there is a notable well, 'Our Lady's Well.' It stands on one side of, and not very far from, the road leading to the chapel. This is a very old well, and it may still be seen. It is in the centre of a stone square, and is approached by half-a-dozen steps. Formerly it was supposed to have miraculous or medicinal qualities, and people went to it for curative purposes."

HAIGHTON GREEN CROSS.—The word "cross," in ancient Gothic letters, occurs on the map at Haighton Green, three-quarters of a mile north-east from Fernyhalgh, and one and a half miles south-east by south from Goosnargh Church, indicating that in the year 1848 a complete cross stood here. A "Manor House" is shown on the map one-eighth of a mile north-east from Haighton Green. The village of Goosnargh is distant five miles north-east by north from Preston Market Place.

GOOSNARGH CROSS.—The words "stone cross" occur on the map one-eighth of a mile north-east from Goosnargh Church.*

^{* &#}x27;'. . . Mercian and Northumbrian herg, a heathen altar or idol temple. . . . Mr. Bradley has collected several instances in which this word forms the final syllable of the name. Grimsargh, a chapelry in the parish of Preston, Lancashire, D.B. Grimesarge, would be 'at the temple of Grimr' or 'Odin.' Goosnargh . . . (D.B. Gusanarghe) he interprets as gudshins hörgi "at the idol's temple." . The word was transferred to Christian shrines, as in the case of Anglezargh or Anglezarke [nine miles S.E. from Preston market place], which may be explained as Eingils-hörgr, the angel's temple." (Names and their Histories). Anglezarke is one of severel wild moors which supply water to the Rivington Waterworks. One mile south-east from Anglezarke is Standing Stones Hill. On Turton Heights, in the same parish, is a Druidical circle. In a previous chapter (Hundred of Leyland) some crosses in this locality are referred to.

STUMP CROSS.—These words appear on the map at the meeting of roads, about one mile in a north-easterly direction from Goosnargh Church.

ARTHUR'S WELL.—These words occur on the map in ancient Gothic letters a full half mile north-east from Goosnargh Church. Close to the well is Arthur's Well House.

The words "Cross House" appear on the map (probably indicating the site of an ancient cross) in an isolated position on the bank of Westfield Brook, three-quarters of a mile in a north-westerly direction from Goosnargh Church.

Barton Cross.—These words occur on the map in ancient Gothic letters in Barton Lane, one and a half miles in a westerly direction from Goosnargh Church, showing that in the year 1848 a complete cross stood here. The site is at the intersection of country lanes, and the map shows a small recess or lay-bye in which the cross was planted. Mr. Collinson writes that the base was thrown into a neighbouring pit at the time when Daniel's pedestal was buried. The base and part of the shaft of the Barton Cross have lately been restored to the old site. A new cross has been erected just behind it by Mr. Myerscough.

Mr. Collinson tells me that in going through some of the old parish registers he found an entry referring to "Barton Christ." He not unnaturally thinks that there must have been a figure on the cross giving rise to that name. Nothing else would account for it. The neighbourhood of Barton (a pre-Norman settlement) is interesting, and deserves thorough investigation. The

domestic chapel attached to Barton Old Hall, of pre-Reformation date, was dedicated to S. Lawrence. It stood about a quarter of a mile from the hall. A modern church has been built on its site, retaining the ancient dedication.

The words "Priest Hill" occur on the map three miles north-east from Goosnargh.

Cross House.—These words occur on the map a quarter of a mile north of Barton Cross. A little to the east of Cross House is the manor house.

OAK BANK FARM CROSS.—Mr. Collinson says that this cross base stands in the middle of a field near the footpath. He thinks it has been removed from the corner of the bridle-path some time.

Crow Hall Cross.—Mr. Collinson thinks that a cross once stood here. Pits would have to be searched.

The destruction of many crosses, which at one time existed in this part of the hundred, is due to the vandalism early in the nineteenth century of a vicar of Goosnargh, named Wilkinson. He was a vehement Protestant, and, owing to his notoriety as a prophet, was allowed to do much as he liked with these ancient monuments. Many crosses, indeed, it is said, were pulled down with his own hands. His prophecies foretelling the deaths of various persons often unfortunately came true, and he was thus, in this superstitious part of England, dreaded as a wizard. As this work of demolition took place before the date of the ordnance survey, there were in all probability many more crosses erected in mediæval times in this

district than we have now any knowledge of, and it is quite possible that some of the crosses so recklessly destroyed may have been, like those at Halton and Heysham, of pre-Norman date and of great historical value. Fragments of them might even now be found were a diligent search made.

INGLEWHITE MARKET CROSS.—The old-world village of Inglewhite, built round a large irregularly shaped green on rising ground, is distant six miles due north of Preston. The country in this part of Lancashire is extremely pretty, well wooded and undulating, and, as we pass through the network of winding lanes, we get occasional glimpses of the deep blue of the Bleasdale moors. The country folk, the village inns, and the whole spirit of the place seem to belong to a byegone epoch. We might, indeed, be in the middle of Devonshire. The village was at one time famous for its cattle and sheep fairs. The green, which is about two hundred yards in length, is on the summit of a low hill, two hundred and fifty feet above the sea-level, and is approached by four roads nearly square with the points of the compass.* The market cross (or obelisk) is placed conspicuously on the highest part of the village green, which slopes away somewhat rapidly from it in an easterly direction. The cross stands on a flight of five steps hexagonal on plan. These rest on an artificial circular grass mound raised about four feet above the level of the turf. The steps carry a pedestal, likewise hexagonal on plan, two feet four inches in diameter, and

. . . Sometimes his lord placed him at the spot where four roads met, and bade him go whither he would,"

^{*} Green, in his Conquest of England, in a chapter dating from A.D. 955-988, describes a curious custom which took place at Cross Roads: "Usually the slave was set free before the altar or in the church porch.

two feet in height. Into this is inserted a tapering stone shaft, seven feet high, nine inches square on plan at the bottom, then becoming octagonal, and at four feet from the pedestal changing into a circular form. The brooches which mask these changes have a very pretty effect. An inscription runs round the top of the octagonal portion of the shaft, each letter and figure of which is carved in a sunk oval panel. They are as follows: "HCIW 1675," recording the repair or rebuilding of the cross in the year 1675 by Justice Warren, the lord of the manor. The alterations which then took place must be a matter of conjecture. I surmise that the steps and pedestal are of mediæval date, and that a mediæval shaft and cross of hexagonal form had at that time become dilapidated, and were renewed in a different form by the lord of the manor, for in mediæval times such a curious architectural mistake as the insertion of a square into a hexagon was of rare occurrence. Writing about the bitter religious controversies which were rife in the seventeenth century, Colonel Fishwick says: "I can quite understand why, when an old cross had to be replaced, an obelisk took its place to please all parties."

S. Anne's Well.—The site of this ancient holy well is half a mile south-west from the village of Inglewhite, in a dell close to Park Head, on a small tributary of the river Wyre, called "Well Wood Stream." The place is about two miles in a north-westerly direction from the village of Goosnargh.

The well is thus described by Mr. R. Cookson in Goosnargh Past and Present, 1887:—

On Longley Hall estate there is a spring of water known as "St. Anne's Well," which is said to have had in former times great healing properties. The tradition is that the benefits were not derived by drinking the water, but by immersion in it.

The appearance of the well at the present time (1887) may have led to this supposition, as it is built in the form of a horse shoe (nine feet by seven feet six inches), and has steps down to the bottom of the water, which stands at about three feet deep. It is, no doubt, the spring alluded to by Leigh, who, in his Natural History of Lancashire and the Peak in Derbyshire (written in 1700), referring to mineral waters "springing out of bass and sulphureous only," says, "Of these the most noted is one near a place called Inglewhite; this springs out of black bass, which by calcination I found to contain Sulphur. The Water has a sulphureous smell, as strong as that near Harrogate, in Yorkshire, but contains little or no salt, which is the reason that it is not purgative like that." Dr. Shott (whose work on mineral waters was printed in 1740) also notices Inglewhite spa: "It is the product of shale and biazie, and is a strong sulphur and chalybeate water, but purges not except drunk with salts."

It would appear from these two extracts that the invalids were to drink

of the water and not to immerse themselves in it.

Near the bottom of the well on a stone, twenty inches by seventeen

inches, is cut in letters three and a half inches high,

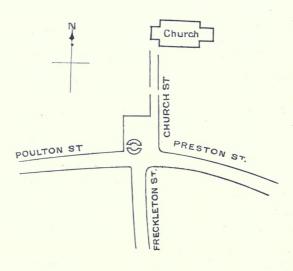
FONS SANCTÆ ANNÆ

WHITECHAPEL CHURCHYARD CROSS.—Mr. Hewitson writes, 3rd April, 1900: "At one time there was the shaft or pedestal of an old cross in the graveyard attached to the church of Whitechapel, . . . but it was smashed or removed by the Rev. R. Wilkinson, the then minister, who also, it is said, partially destroyed with his own hands a cross in one of the fields of the Beesley property (local property). The base of this cross may yet, I believe, be seen."

The same author adds: "Between fifteen and twenty years ago, so far as I am able to calculate, an old cross stone at the head of Church Bank Meadow, Goosnargh, was broken to pieces by some local vandals." Whitechapel is one and a quarter miles north-east from Inglewhite.

KIRKHAM.

The ancient town of Kirkham, the "church village," is built on a low hill about three miles north of the Ribble. A "Watling Street" from Preston ran through it. The principal streets have been built in the form of a cross, square with the points of the compass. The east is Preston Street, the west Poulton Street, the north Church Street, and the south Freckleton Street. The two first are certainly a portion of the Roman road referred to above, and this may be the case with the others also. The market place is at the intersection of these roads,



the houses being set back to the north and west to form a small square, measuring fifty-five yards from north to south and fifty from east to west.

THE MARKET Cross stood in this square, but was demolished about the beginning of the nineteenth century. I have not as yet been able to find any record of its architectural appearance, but in all probability, like the market crosses at Garstang and Preston, it had been more

than once rebuilt. The cross was certainly in existence in the middle of the seventeenth century, as the register of marriages quoted below shows: "ffebruary 1654-55. Richard Gorner of Rosaker and Ann Blackburn of the p'rish of St. Michaels published three severall market daies at the markett cross of Kirkham before the 2nd October, and married before Mr. Wiltm Patten maier of Preston, the 15 Nov. 1655." Then follows a certificate of the maier, Wm. Patten, that Christopher Smith and Alis Whitehead were married according to act of Parliament of the 24th August, 1653.

Colonel Fishwick narrates the following curious story, which illustrates the superstitious feeling with which, even so late as the eighteenth century, this symbol of Christianity was regarded. He says that during the rebellion of 1745 a man passed through Kirkham bearing with him a supply of money for the rebels, but from some cause he became alarmed, and was afraid to retain it in his possession. He offered the money to several of the inhabitants, who refused to receive it; but early the next morning a man named Loxham was seen to take a bag which was hung on the market cross, and which was shrewdly suspected to contain the rebels' gold, but the recipient declared that it was "only a bag of yellow buttons."

The importance of Kirkham in early times is evidenced by the fact that it was one of the first towns in Lancashire which became by royal charter entitled to hold a market and fair. This privilege was granted by Henry III. (1269–1270). The charter states . . . that there was to be in the borough a prison, a pillory, a cucking stool, and other instruments of punishment. . . . The stocks stood near the church, which is one-eighth of a mile north of the market place, and has been several times

rebuilt. The fish stones are still in situ at the south-west corner of the market place. They are circular on plan and fifteen feet in diameter.

The moot hall stood in the market place. It was destroyed by fire towards the end of the eighteenth century. The lower portion was used for shops, and a large upper room was approached from the outside by a flight of stone steps. In this room the town's business was transacted. In a review of Mr. G. L. Gomme's work on Primitive Folk-Moots or Open-Air Assemblies in Britain in The Antiquary for 1881 occur the words: "Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period the open-air practice showed itself in 'shire-motes' and 'hundred courts.' The witenagemot occasionally showed itself under the same old world aspect. Even after the Norman Conquest the 'shirecourt,' that determined the famous ejectment case between Archbishop Lanfranc and Eudes of Bayeux, was held in the open air." At Kirkham and in some other neighbouring towns the affairs of the parish were managed by a peculiar institution called the "Thirty Sworn Men."

WAYSIDE CROSSES NEAR KIRKHAM.

HIGHER HOUSE CROSS.—This cross is not shown on the ordnance map, but the position of the cross base has been pointed out to me by Mr. Myres as at the meeting of roads three-quarters of a mile south of Kirkham Church.

HALL CROSS.—These words occur on the map at the meeting of roads half a mile south of Higher House Cross, apparently the name of a house. Mr. Myres shows here on his map the pedestal of a cross.

LUND CROSS.—In the centre of the old village of Lund, where the chief roads intersect, we find the words "Cross Stone" in ancient Gothic letters on the map. The village is two and a half miles in an easterly direction from Kirkham.

"Bloody Lane End" occurs on the map at the meeting of roads three-quarters of a mile north-west from Kirkham Church.

Guildhall is the name of a house three-eighths of a mile south of Kirkham market place.

Fox Lane Ends Cross (possibly Four Lane Ends).— The words "Stone Cross" occur on the map three-eighths of a mile in a north-westerly direction from the old village of Wrea Green and half a mile east from the village of Westby (a Domesday name).

Wrea Green is surrounded by houses. The green is roughly square in shape, measuring about one hundred and seventy yards across both ways. Half a mile to the west of it is Manor House, and near the village of Warton we come upon a Windy Harbour, though in very lowlying country.

Bradkirk Hall, one and a quarter miles north-west from Kirkham, suggests the site of an ancient church.

MEDICINAL WELL, PLUMPTON.—The villages of Great and Little Plumpton, half a mile apart, are distant about three miles to the west of Kirkham.

Baines writes: "Bowen, the geographer, in 1747 mentions a spa in Plumpton which he says, 'like that of Lathom, is impregnated with sulphur, vitriol, ochre, iron, a little lapis scipilis, and a marine salt, united with a

bitter purging salt, but the sulphur is only discernible in a morning, going off in the course of the day." I have not as yet been able to ascertain whether this well was ever dedicated to a saint.

LYTHAM CROSS.—The old market place of Lytham is triangular in shape, and in the middle of it the ancient fish stones are shown on the map. "Church Road" leads out of it, and not far from the church the pedestal of an ancient cross was at one time to be seen.

The words "Site of a Benedictine Priory" occur on the map close to Lytham Hall, indicating the position of this small religious house, dedicated to SS. Mary and Cuthbert, and subject to Durham.

POULTON-IN-THE-FYLDE.*

This ancient town stands on a slight eminence, two and a half miles inland from the coast, and one mile in a south-westerly direction from the estuary of the Wyre. The market place, rectangular in form, occupies a central position, and five roads radiate from it into the surrounding old-fashioned country. The church, dedicated to S. Chad, rebuilt in the eighteenth century, but founded before the Domesday Survey, stands at the north end, and the moot hall, adjacent to which were the shambles, was built at the south end of the market place. The remains of what may have been the churchyard cross are to be seen on the southerly side of the church; a broken shaft, which I was told once carried a cross, let into a calvary of three circular steps.

^{*} Locally spoken of as "Poulton-le-Fylde," a survival of old Norman French.

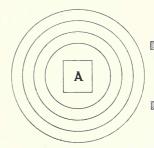


MARKET PLACE, POULTON-LE-FYLDE.

- A. Market Cross.
 B. The Stocks.
 C. Whipping Post.
 D. Tish Stone.



D







THE MARKET CROSS was placed at the south side of the market place, immediately in front of the moot hall. It consists of a Jacobean circular pillar, placed on a square pedestal, and surmounted by a ball and small cross. The pedestal stands on a flight of four ancient steps, which are circular on plan.

The stocks, with massive ironwork, are placed close to the south side of the cross, the criminals sitting as usual on the bottom step.

The rogues' whipping post, a stone pillar, about eight feet high, stands eight yards to the north of the cross. On the sides of the pillar are hooks to which the criminal was fastened.

The fish stones stand between the rogues' whipping post and the cross.

Breck Cross.—This cross was apparently in existence in the year 1848, for the word cross occurs on the map in ancient Gothic letters half a mile north-east from Poulton-in-the-Fylde, close to Breck House and Roman Catholic Chapel and burial-ground.

BISPHAM CHURCHYARD CROSS.—The ancient village of Bispham is two miles north-west by west from Poulton-in-the-Fylde and about half a mile inland from the seashore. The church has been almost entirely rebuilt, but a Norman doorway remains. The "Fairy Seats" in the porch are an interesting survival of ancient local superstitions. The sundial, which stands on the south side of the church, is said to be a portion of the old churchyard cross. On the north side of it are cut the letters "I. H." and on the west "R. B."

BISPHAM HOLY WELL.—Baines states (1867 ed.) that the holy well still remains in a neighbouring garden with

its old covering. Mr. G. C. Yates, F.S.A., who visited the spot in December, 1902, says that the cottage is demolished, and the well filled up, but the person who had lived in the cottage said it was a grand spring and it always had a nice scum on it.

As the subject of the ancient crosses and holy wells of Lancashire is so indissolubly associated with curious ceremonies and superstitions—some of them having had their origin in remote antiquity—I think no apology is needed for recording a few of the most remarkable of these old customs, which are rapidly dying out in this part of England. The western side of the Fylde district remains-much of it-in a thoroughly primitive condition, both socially and religiously. Here amongst low hills, in a district which may roughly be said to be about five miles in diameter, and which is bounded by the ancient villages of Weeton, Great Plumpton, Marton, Bispham, and Poulton-in-the-Fylde, the Teanlow night observances were not many years ago in full force on All-Hallows' E'en.* In a preceding chapter (Hundred of Levland) a brief account is given of the ceremonial lighting of fires at this time of year, on the low hills near Weeton, for the relief of the souls of persons in purgatory, a doctrine which is firmly held by the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith, whose numerous chapels show that this form of religion is prevalent hereabouts.

Baines writes: "Up to a generation ago, the Teanla fires were still burnt through all these parts on All Saints' Night, and the old pits for them, with ashes and calcined stones, may be found in every township."

Mr. Hewitson writes: "Poulton is one of those queer

^{*} It may be noted here that the very ancient church at Bispham has this dedication (All Hallows).

places wherein olden customs were loth to die and in which a few are even still alive. The 'Teanlowe Night,' noticed in our account of Weeton, was kept up here, and in a field not far from the town, in which the ceremony—lighting fires, &c., with the view of giving succour to those in the purgatorial state—is still called by old people 'Purgatory.'"

"In the Irish Glossary of Cormac, Archbishop of Cashel (written in the beginning of the tenth century), the author says that in his time 'four great fires were lighted up on the four great festivals of the Druids, viz., in February, May, August, and November. . . . All Saints' Day is on the 1st November, and its vigil is termed All-halloween, or nutcrack night.' These festivals had all reference to the seasons and their influence on the fruitfulness of the earth."* . . .

Robert Burns tells us that Halloween is thought to be a "night when witches, devils, and other mischief-making beings are all abroad on their baneful midnight errands; particularly those aerial people, the fairies, are said on that night to hold a grand anniversary."

Mr. T. T. Wilkinson, of Burnley, says: "Such fires are still lighted in Lancashire on Hallowe'en, under the names of Beltains or Teanleas; and even the cakes, which the Jews are said to have made in honour of the Queen of Heaven, are yet to be found at this season amongst the inhabitants of the banks of the Ribble."

A writer on "Folk-lore and Church Customs," in the *Antiquary* for 1881, says, referring to the old temples and accustomed rites of the newly converted English, . . . "at length a compromise was effected, and the Feast of All Souls converted to pious uses that wealth of sentiment which previously was lavished on the dead."

^{*} Hardwick's Traditions, Superstitions, and Folk-lore.

In a chapter on "Fire or Sun Worship and its attendant Superstitions," Mr. Hardwick writes: "I have said that some remains of the fire worship of Bel or Beil, until very recently, might be found in Lancashire and the north of England, as well as at present in Scotland and Ireland. . . . Amongst these may be instanced a superstition prevalent in the north of England and many other places, that a funeral procession, when arrived at the churchyard, must move in the sun's course. The fact that Brand and most of the earlier writers after the Reformation speak of these superstitions as 'popish' in no way invalidates the assignment to them of an Aryan origin. As early as the eleventh century, in the reign of Canute the Great, we find laws strictly prohibiting the people from worshipping or venerating 'the sun, moon, sacred groves and woods, and hallowed hills and fountains."

The following tradition concerning the institution of All Souls' Day in the year 993, in the monastery of Clugny, is recorded by Mr. Hackwood in his book on Christ Lore: "A pilgrim returning from the Holy Land was compelled by a storm to land on a rocky island, where he found a hermit, who told him that among the cliffs of the island was an opening into the infernal regions, through which huge flames ascended, and where the groans of the tormented were distinctly audible. The pilgrim told Odilo, abbot of Clugny, of this; so the abbot set apart the following day, which happened to be November the 2nd, for the benefit of souls in purgatory."

A lady connected with many old Lancashire families has given me the following interesting particulars of some nursery ceremonies which were carried out with great

^{*}Traditions, Superstitions, and Folk-lore (chiefly Lancashire and the North of England).

punctuality on All-Hallows' Eve in her father's house. She writes: "We began the evening by dipping our faces into a large bath of water in which were floating apples cut in half. Each child 'dipped' three times, and it was considered very clever to catch a piece of apple every time in his or her mouth. Then followed the same ceremony, nuts replacing the apples. A circle was then formed round the fire, and we put nuts on the bar to roast, in couples, the second nut representing a friend. If this nut burst or rolled off into the fire, the friend would prove unfaithful; if both nuts blazed steadily side by side, the friends would be faithful to each other. Just before going to bed we came into the hall with our hair down, and walked backwards upstairs, retired without speaking, only pausing to look in a mirror to see if the face of our future husband looked over our shoulder. If we spoke to anyone that night the spell was broken, and we could not expect to dream of the future."

Windy Harbour House is close to the south bank of the river Wyre, about two and a half miles in an easterly direction from Poulton-in-the-Fylde.

The words "Boggart Yate" appear on the map two and a half miles north-east from Poulton-in-the-Fylde, close to the ancient village of Hambleton.

The words "Town End" on the map represent the tiniest of villages, two and a half miles north-west by north from Poulton-in-the-Fylde.

PILLING, STALMINE, PREESALL, WINMARLEIGH, Moss, and STAINALL.

Combellaw Cross.—The following extracts from the Cockersand Chartulary indicate the existence of a cross, standing (about the middle of the thirteenth century) on

the east side of the estuary of the Wyre, near the village of Stainall. It is not shown on the ordnance maps, but the pedestal may be still in some field or ditch:—

By another charter [he (Peter son of Richard de Stainall) granted to them] a strip of land in Longfurlong field between the strip belonging to William, son of his uncle William and the strip which he held of the said monks, for term of his life, extending at one end to the road between Stainall and Combelaw cross, at the other to the king's highway; with all

the liberties appurtenant to so much land. [S.D. 1235-1262.]

Grant in frankalmoign from Robert, son of Henry [to the monks of Cockersand] of three seillons of his land in Stainall; one being the third from the town on the western side between the town and the road; another, in Carrfurlong upon Arghole, being the fourth from the northern side of Argholestan; and the third, being all his share next Combelaw Cross on the south; with common of pasture and proviso that if any service or demand should hereafter be made upon this land it should be discharged out of the residue of his fee. [S.D. 1246–1262.]

Grant in frankalmoign from the said Peter [to the monks of Cockersand] of one strip of land upon Combelaw, to wit, on the south side of the Cross in the Bankfield extending westward to the bank of Wyre and [eastward] to the king's highway; another strip of land upon Arghole in the southern part of Argholstone towards the town, in the Bankfield. . . .

[S.D. 1235-1262.]

. . . A seillon called Uttingland upon Bank furlong on the southern side of Wallgate, and a seillon next to William Whitewell's (?) land abutting at one end upon North furlong, at the other upon the road which runs from Combelaw Cross to the Stainall road; with the appurtenances. [S.D. 1240–1268.]

ARGHOLE STONE.—The following extract from the *Cockersand Chartulary* indicates that a boundary cross or a meare stone bearing this name stood in the thirteenth century in the position described near Stainall:—

Grant in frankalmoign from the said Richard [to the monks of Cockersand] of half an acre of land in Stainall, upon Arghole, in Bothum below Argholestone, and the homage and service of his brother Peter and of William, son of William. . . . This stone is apparently referred to in the Chartulary of the Priory of Lancaster, Chetham Society, vol. xxxi., page 356, and in some subsequent deeds: Moreover, in the field of the aforesaid vill of Stainall of which one lies upon Harkhole, beginning at the great stone upon Harkhole, and it extends as far as the Wyre and the other lies upon Shortbutts between Stainall and Cumbelaw.

Norcross.—This word appears on the ordnance map one and a half miles north-west from Poulton-le-Fylde, and possibly records the site of a very ancient cross, as we may infer from the subjoined extracts from the Cockersand Chartulary. The site is one and a quarter miles north from Great Carleton village, and the same distance inland from the sea-shore. The word Norcross also appears not far from Longridge, near the eastern boundary of this hundred.

In exchange for this land and quitclaim, the said Henry has been enfeoffed of an oxgang of land in Stainall, half an oxgang and half a toft in Northcross, and a rent of twelve pence in Cottam. He renders twelve pence yearly, half a mark at his decease. . . And by another charter, a strip called the Great "land" at the Wallgate, lying between land of Peter, son of Richard, and land of Richard de Ellswick, extending at one end towards Wyre, at the other towards the highway; with the appurtenances. [S.D. 1240–1268.]

The marginal notes state that Henry de Haydock held this oxgang of land in 1268, in fee, rendering 12d. yearly; and half a mark at each decease. He held this land, half an oxgang in Northcross, and a rent of 12d. in Cottam, of the said monks, in exchange for land in Forton. Northcross in Carleton was one of the oldest grants to the abbey, of a date earlier than A.D. 1190.

Colecross.—From the following deed in the Cockersand Chartulary it seems likely that a cross stood early in the thirteenth century on the site indicated near Preesall:—

Grant in frankalmoign from Geoffrey Arbalestrier (cross-bowman) to God and S. Mary of Cockersand, of a portion of his territory in Preesall, lying between Colecross and Fauerbeck: to wit from Colecross southwards to the deep moss, and from the north side to the sands; for the health of the soul of King John, etc. [S.D. 1205–1246.]

tithe of a certain pasture in the parish of the said church lying between Colecross and the outer western dyke towards Preesall, called Stockpool, which said pasture the said abbot and convent obtained by the confirmation of Sir John de Hackensall. . . .

Lawrence's Cross.—This was one of the numerous crosses which, according to the *Cockersand Chartulary*, stood in the thirteenth century in the north-west corner

of this hundred, on the easterly side of the Wyre estuary, on land about four miles in length, and three in width, a district easy of access from the abbey. The site is not recorded on the ordnance maps, but it must have been near the ancient village of Stalmine, four miles north-west from Poulton-le-Fylde.

Grant in frankalmoign from the said Adam, son of Robert, [to the monks of Cockersand], of two acres and five rodfalls of land in Stalmine, to wit, a half acre upon Dickfurlong, over against Lawrence's cross; a half acre upon Harecarr furlong; and an acre and a five rodfalls upon Warles-moor furlong, near Geoffrey's land, called Taylid, with common pasture and all liberties appertaining to so much land. [S.D. 1238–1259.]

STOCKENPOOL CROSS.—Another of the ancient crosses near the village of Preesall not recorded on the ordnance maps is thus referred to in the *Cockersand Chartulary*.

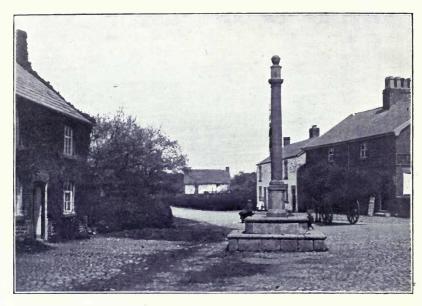
Quitclaim by the said Alan [to the monks of Cockersand] of all his land, waste and common, within these bounds: to wit, from the Stockenpool, where the cross is set up, in a straight line extending southward, to the cross upon the Tongue, and so from that cross, etc., as contained in the charter of Geoffrey, [the son] of Sir John de Hackensall, the grantor of this land; for the health of the souls of King John and King Henry. [S.D. 1260–1265.]

TONGUE CROSS.—The site of this cross, referred to in the preceding and following extracts, from the *Cockersand Chartulary*, is not recorded in the ordnance maps.

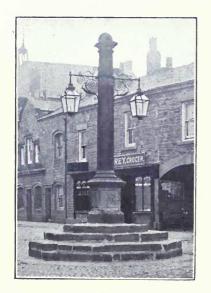
Grant in frankalmoign, from Geoffrey Hackensall, [to the monks of Cockersand] for the health of the souls of King John and King Henry of a certain portion of his land in the territory of Preesall, within these bounds: to wit from the Stockenpool, where the cross is set up, in straight line southward to the cross upon the Tongue, and from thence by a certain ditch, between Carr and the Tongue, on the east, to another cross upon the Blakelache bank, following Blakelache across the Tongue on the south, to the deep moss.

BLACKELACHE CROSS.—The foregoing extract names what we may assume to have been another ancient cross in wood or stone, although, unless expressly stated other-





THE MARKET CROSS, GARSTANG CHURCHTOWN.



GARSTANG MARKET CROSS.



INGLEWHITE MARKET CROSS.

wise, the word cross may mean a boundary mark cut on trees or other objects.

GARSTANG.

This small country town is built on rising ground, close to the west bank of the river Wyre, on the great north road. The market place, triangular in shape, is on the crest of the little hill where three roads meet. The town hall, a picturesque building of Queen Anne date, and an old coaching inn add to the interest of this part of the town.

The Market Cross.—Colonel Fishwick, in his History of Garstang, quoting from the Bailiffs' Accounts, says that the ancient market cross was removed in the year 1754, and he writes: "I feel certain that the obelisks replaced the old crosses, because of the strong feeling against Roman Catholics." It was succeeded by the present obelisk, which in 1897 was pulled down and rebuilt, with a few alterations, as a jubilee memorial. The design is similar to that at Poulton-le-Fylde. It consists of a circular tapering Grecian pillar and moulded pedestal or base placed on a flight of three steps, octagonal on plan, which are well worn, and evidently ancient. A brass plate records the restoration in June, 1897.

The well and pump were to the south of the cross. They were done away with, an inhabitant told me, because a cart crushed them in.

The fish stones stood between the cross and the well. They, too, were "done away with," because "a good while ago, on a fifth of November, they put tar barrels on the fish stones, which cracked them."

The stocks, which are of oak and movable, are kept in an attic in the town hall. They consist of upright posts

let into a large wooden step, the posts being held together at the top by a strong oak bar. They are made for two criminals to sit side by side. Movable stocks are not common, but they appear to have been used in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Shakspere thus refers to them in King Lear, act ii., scene 2, act iii., scene 4, viz.: "Fetch forth the stocks, as I have life and honour, there shall he sit till noon," and "Tom is whipped from tything to tything stock, punished, and imprisoned." An instance of movable stocks, in a Yorkshire town, is mentioned in Andrews' Bye-Gone Punishments. He tells us that the stocks at Beverley were movable and fitted into sockets near the market cross. They are dated 1789, and are preserved in a chamber at S. Mary's Church at Beverley. They were used as recently as 1853.

A writer in *Notes and Queries*, 5th January, 1901, referring to movable stocks, says: "This mobility is confirmed by the statement that 'an incorrigible,' named Samuel Tisdale, was 'dragged around the town [of Shrewsbury] in the stocks by a mob;' this occurred in 1851 as nearly as can be ascertained."

The following notes are taken from the Bailiffs' Accounts:—

			S.	d.
1703.	For lead for the cross	 	4	0
1714.	Mending the Rogues' Post	 	I	4
1754.	Paid for removing old cross	 	I	8
	Repairing stocks			
1783.	For removing stocks	 		6
1794.	Taking up stocks, repairing same	 	I	0

From these entries it seems probable that the stocks were once fixed to wood or stone posts (presumably in the market place) prior to the construction of the present movable ones.

Garstang was one of the many towns where, in the year 1715, the Pretender in his march south was proclaimed king at the market cross. Hewitson tells us that in this rising the rebels got some of the inhabitants to join them; four of them were hanged near Garstang. One of them, named Goose, it is alleged, was taken into custody for shouting out on the steps of the market cross to the rebels, "Hey ye on, me lads, and you'll take the crown with a distaff."

At the beginning of the nineteenth century great cattle fairs were held here, the beasts coming from Scotland as well as from the surrounding districts.

Hewitson, in *Northwards*, writes: "Every week-end, about ninety years ago, a number of Garstang working men subscribed for a paper, in their individual turn or in certain sections; it was the old *Lancaster Gazette*, now in the non-existent category, which was purchased, and at a convenient hour they met at 'The Cross' (opposite the Royal Oak), where a man named William Carter read the news to them, and afterwards had the paper given to him for his trouble."

Wayside Crosses near Garstang.

CHARNOCK HOUSE CROSS.—The words "stone cross" occur on the map at the junction of Joe's Lane with the great north road between Preston and Lancaster, one and half miles south-east by east from the village of Garstang Churchtown, indicating that in the year 1848 a complete cross stood here. I found the pedestal only remaining.

CATTERALL HOUSE CROSS.—The words "Part of a stone cross" occur on the map in Joe's Lane, three-eighths of a mile north-west from the preceding.

HAG WOOD CROSS.—The pedestal of a cross is to be seen by the roadside, near the meeting of lanes about half way between the town of Garstang and Garstang Churchtown. It is at the end of a footpath called Mony Pads, which led from the town to the old church, and was probably a stopping-place for funeral processions. Close to it is "Cross House." Another "Cross House" is marked on the map one and a quarter miles north-east from Garstang town, near Backhouse Lane, indicating the site of another ancient cross.

Brunahill Cross.—The pedestal of this cross stands in a field three-eighths of a mile west from Garstang Station and one and a half miles north-east from Garstang Churchtown. This base-stone has been tooled.

Langtrees Cross.—The words "stone cross" appear on the map by the side of the road which skirts Claughton Park, indicating that in the year 1848 a complete stone cross stood here. The site is half a mile north-north-east from Claughton Hall.

SHEPHERD HILL CROSS.—The words "stone cross" again occur on the 1848 map by the side of a road which skirts Claughton demesne to the south-east. The site is half a mile south-east from the hall.

WHITTINGHAM'S CROSS.—The pedestal of a stone cross is shown on the map at the junction of Park Head Lane with Smithy Lane, one and a quarter miles north-east by east from the town of Garstang. Close to it are the words "Cross House." The late Mr. S. Jackson told me that this cross base is now under the grass at the old Jerry Shop.

STURZAKER CROSS.—The site is near the north bank of the river Calder, two and a half miles north-east by east from Garstang Churchtown, and one mile north of Claughton Hall. This cross is not shown on the map, but the base-stone was found by the late Mr. S. Jackson, of Garstang, near Sturzaker Farmhouse.

RINGING HILL CROSS.—The site of this pedestal was described by the late Mr. S. Jackson as being in a field about a quarter of a mile east from Garstang (Catterall) Station. It was at one time further in the field than at present.

CAR HOUSE CROSS.—The site of this cross is about three-quarters of a mile to the north of Garstang Market Place, at the meeting of roads. The cross itself is now in Mr. Curwen's garden at Bowgrave, about a mile in a south-easterly direction from Garstang. It is a plain chamfered Latin cross, and may perhaps be taken as a type of many which at one time marked church lands in West Lancashire, cut out of a block of stone not exceeding three feet in height. Other examples are to be seen in the Lonsdale hundred.

The words "Croston Barn" occur on the map half a mile to the west of Car House Cross.

CATHOUSES CROSS.—A similar small chamfered cross was found by Mr. Curwen in a hedge, half a mile west of Garstang, about two hundred yards south of the Lancaster Canal, on the east side of the high-road, between Cockerham and Garstang Churchtown.

In his *History of Garstang* Colonel Fishwick, in commenting on some of the wayside crosses just referred to, says: "The following confession of John Stirzaker and others, made before the Bishop of Chester, 25th

July, 1624, furnishes an interesting example of one of the uses these crosses were put to:* 'they were present and assistinge the rest of the companie for the carryinge of the corps of Thomas Bell of Garstang pish decd to the sd church [Garstang], and that there were in the companie and consentinge to the settinge down of the said corse at crosses and yielding obeysance to the same in superstitious manner as they went alonge and that they carryed or agreed therto the sayd corps by the church porche and afterwards it was buryed wthout the Mynisters ayd or any prayers made at the buryall thereof; the bishop's sentence was, that 'the sd parties should acknowledge their faulte in their accustomed apparel on the Sundaie next being att morning Prayer tyme as followeth, viz. Whereas wee, good people have assisted and helped to carry the corps of Thomas Bell deceased & have been present when the same was sett down at crosses, and using much superstitious solemnitie and interring the same corps without Mynister or any Prayers to the evil example of others, and contrarie to the laws of this realm. thereby incurringe the danger of the lawe wee are heartily

^{*} The following note appeared in the Manchester City News for 24th November, 1900: "In a recent volume of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the documents of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, there are at page 40 some details of the 'arguments,' as they were termed, that were urged at the Hampton Court Conference held there in 1604. As is well known, the use of cross was a prominent subject of debate. Lancashire had the following particular reference, which also forms a summary of local cross-lore. The complaint was that: 'In Lancashire and those northern parts (1) in garnishing the dead with the cross; (2) by setting them down and praying at crosses in the highway and leaving memorial crosses for them there; (3) their giving of the right hand to all crosses; (4) by garnishing them with flowers and garlands on Corpus Christi day with much devotion; (5) their wearing of palm crosses on Palm Sunday; (6) the signing themselves with the sign of the cross on the forehead at all prayers and blessings, and, therefore, they call it a blessing therewith to bless themselves when they first enter into the church, and in all their actions, even when they gape.'-R. L."

sorrie for our faulte and promise never to offend in the like beseechinge you to take example by this our punishment to avoid the like offence.' The offenders were also ordered 'to receive the holy and blessed communion at their owne parish church before the feast of St. Michael the Archangell next under the Mynister and Churchwardens' hands sub pœna Excom.'"

Colonel Fishwick goes on to say that "There are people still living who remembered seeing Roman Catholic funeral processions pause and rest the coffin at the remains of the cross, near Cross House, in Kirkham. Respecting this cross there is a curious bit of folk-lore. The stone socket in which the cross originally stood formed a small basin, which after a shower of rain stood full of water; persons troubled with warts had only to wash their hands in this water, hold them up and say 'Go away,' and the excresences would gradually disappear."

GARSTANG CHURCHTOWN.

Everything in this quiet village savours of venerable age and undisturbed tranquility. The church, dedicated to S. Helen and of early date, is the mother church of a large parish, including the town of Garstang, from which it is reached by about two miles of country lanes. The church and rectory are embosomed in the midst of grand old trees, and the river Wyre courses peacefully through the meadows to the south of the village. A "Windy Arbour" is recorded on the maps half way between Garstang Churchtown and Chipping, near Beaton Fell.

The VILLAGE CROSS stands in a triangular open space at the meeting of roads two hundred yards north of the church, amidst ancient houses, some of Tudor date. It consists of a Grecian circular column and pedestal of somewhat similar design to others in the hundred. It is carried on two steps square on plan. On the top of the column is a sundial. The structure is apparently of late eighteenth century date.

Mr. Hewitson, in his *Country Churches and Chapels*, says the markets were held here at one time, but have long since disappeared. It may be that this was the place of ancient assembly before Garstang became the more important place.

The words "Ann's Pool" occur on the map close to a tributary of the Wyre, two hundred yards west of the cross.

The Churchyard Cross.—The remains of this cross are in the customary position south of the chancel. Noted on my sketch, dated 9th May, 1899, are the words, "The remains of a venerable cross." They consist of a massive chamfered base-stone, two feet seven inches square on plan, and one foot nine inches above the turf. A portion only of the shaft remains. It is oblong on plan, measuring thirteen and a half inches by nine and a half inches.*

S. Ellin's Well, Bleasdale Moors.—The site of this holy well is marked on the ordnance map at a lonely spot on Harris Fell, five hundred feet above the sealevel, four and a half miles in a north-easterly direction from the town of Garstang.

Mr. A. King has kindly examined the site. He writes, 4th August, 1902: "We had no difficulty in locating the spot. . . . There is no outward indication of the

^{*} Amongst the numerous Kirklands which we find on the map is a hall and park of that name in the village of Garstang Churchtown.

place being used for curative means, and there is no stonework at all. It is a beautifully cold spring which is at the side of 'Bonny Pad,' a pathway leading across the moor from Harris End, and it was grown around with rushes. . . . All I can glean about it is that one of the oldest inhabitants, when asked if he knew of it, replied, 'It will be th' holy well, you mean.'"

The dedication of so many holy wells and churches to S. Helen, S. Ellen, or S. Ellin has been a subject of much controversy. In a previous chapter I have referred to Mr. Gregson's suggestion that the S. Helen of the county of Lancaster is not unconnected with the Celtic S. Elian, both descended from Ella, the water sprite. Some additional light is, however, thrown on this subject by the late Canon Isaac Taylor in Words and Places. He says (in an interesting chapter on river names) that Allen, Allan, Elwin, Ilen, and Ellen are derived from the Gaelic all, white, meaning, in all probability, clear or transparent water, such as is eminently the case at the S. Helen Wells at Sefton and Brindle. It may be noted here that the river Douglas, near Preston, which drains much black bog land, derives its name, Canon Taylor tells us, from the word dhu, meaning black. The name of the saint is spelt in various ways, in ancient documents; thus in the Brindle Parish Registers, under Christenings (A.D. 1630) we find "Elizabeth of Vian Garrat de Sant Ellin Well," and under Burials (A.D. 1621) "Margrett Gerrard de St Ellyn Well."

Sir Walter Scott's novels are full of allusions to the superstitions connected with holy wells, which prevailed as much in Scotland as in the west of England. Thus, in *The Abbot*, he says: "Roland and Catherine, therefore, were united, spite of their differing faiths; and the White Lady, whose apparition had been infrequent when the

house of Avenel seemed verging to extinction, was seen to sport by her haunted well, with a zone of gold around her bosom as broad as the baldrick of an earl." . . . "There was a well possessed of some medicinal qualities, which, of course, claimed the saint [St. Cuthbert] for its guardian and patron, and occasionally produced some advantage to the recluse who inhabited his cell, since none could expect to benefit by the fountain who did not extend their bounty to the saint's chaplain."

Mr. T. Stanley Ball, writing on "Town Guilds" (Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1896), makes the following comments on the S. Helen's dedication, but it is doubtful whether the fame of the mother of Constantine was widely known in Lancashire: "The old guilds of Beverley were held to keep green the memory of S. Elevne or S. Helen. She was said to have been a Briton and the mother of Constantine the Great. On the feast of this saint the members of the guild, says the old chronicle, 'meet together, and then a fair youththe fairest boy they can find—is picked out and clad as a queen, like to S. Eleyne, and an old man goes before this youth carrying a cross, and another old man carrying a shovel, in token of the finding of the 'Holy Crouche' (Cross) discovered by that saint." It may be noted here that figures of Helena and her contemporaries are pourtrayed in an ancient stained glass window in the parish church of Ashton-under-Lyne.

Bradshaw Cross.—The words "Base of a stone cross" occur on the map by the side of a road, three-quarters of a mile north-west from S. Ellin's Well. The site is one-eighth of a mile north-east from the intersection of roads, named on the map "Crosshill Four Lane Ends," and two miles in a north-westerly direction from Scorton.

The country to the east consists of wild fells, many miles in extent, rising in places to a height of one thousand four hundred feet above the sea-level.

The words "Street Farm," one mile north-west from S. Ellin's Well, may indicate a Roman road.

The word "Arbour" appears on the north bank of the Calder, about two miles south-east from S. Ellin's Well, at a height of eight hundred feet above the sea-level.

GRIZEDALE CROSS.—The words "stone cross" (indicating an actually existing cross in 1848) occur on the map one and a quarter miles south of S. Ellin's Well. The site is a quarter of a mile in a north-easterly direction from Grizedale Lee Farm and two miles east from the village of Scorton. The cross was placed near the south bank of Grizedale Brook.

"NICK'S CHAIR."—These words occur on the map on Fair Snape Fell, at a height of one thousand three hundred and seventy-eight feet above the sea-level, six and a half miles east from the town of Garstang, marking the boundary between the hundreds of Amounderness and Blackburn by a heap of stones.

CROSS HILL CROSS, SCORTON.—Not shown on the ordnance maps, but the late Mr. S. Jackson, of Garstang, writes: "There is a good base at Cross Hill, Scorton, but no cross." The site is about three-quarters of a mile in an easterly direction from the ancient village of Scorton, in the middle of a desolate fell, six hundred feet above the sea-level. The remains are about one mile west from Grizedale Cross.

CABUS CROSS.—The site of this cross is at the meeting of roads about two miles north-north-west of the town of

Garstang, and three and a quarter miles north-east by east from Crawley's Cross. Until quite recent times funeral processions halted at the various crosses in this district. The pedestal is in an adjoining field on the east of the road. Cabus Nook Lane leads from the cross to Cabus Nook, the site of a few cottages close to a bridge on the Lancaster Canal, a third of a mile north of the cross. "Boggart House" is in Cabus Nook Lane, an eighth of a mile north of the cross.

Mr. Anthony Hewitson writes in Northward:—

In the locality of the fish-hatchery before mentioned—indeed, close to it, at the junction of the road which comes over the high moorland, southeastward, and slants down Harrisend Fell to the base-there is a small building known as Cross Hill School. About two hundred yards past the school north-east, the Wyresdale road goes over a small hill, on the summit of which there is the stone base of an old cross. This base stands on one side of the road. The elevated ground here would, no doubt, at one time-when the cross was up-be known as Cross Hill; this is its present name, and proximity to the hill clearly accounts for the name of the old school. . . . The eminence near which the Cockerham road goes just past the old quarry hole is Cross Hill, and no doubt it originally got this name through being the site of a wayside cross. A dwelling on the northern side of the road, at the summit of the eminence, bears the name Cross Hill House; another dwelling on the same side, about one hundred yards southward, is named Cross Hill Cottage, and a short distance south-east there is Cross Hill Farm.

Mr. Hewitson, in the same book, thus alludes (in describing the country near Cockerham) to the Dob and Hob* fairies, a subject which has been frequently mentioned in these pages: "Not even the date can be recovered of that momentous day when the 'Hampson Dobby' fought the 'Brunsa Hobby,' and both were killed and interred in Dobb's field."

^{*}The legend that the fairies leap from one eminence to another, sometimes many miles apart, is not confined to Lancashire. Thus we find a place called Hobb's Hillock in Cheshire, about six miles south-east from Warrington.

CROSSES NEAR COCKERHAM.

A lane branches off to the west from the great North Road at a distance of about three miles north of the town of Garstang, passing on in a north-westerly direction to the site of Cockerham Abbey. Three crosses, at least, stood here at one time, their bases only remain:—

MOORHEAD CROSS.—The base of this cross is near the meeting of roads about a quarter of a mile east from the Lancaster Canal.

FORTON HALL CROSS.—The base-stone is in a hedge near Forton Hall, where various roads meet, about onethird of a mile west from the Lancaster Canal.

Cross Houses Cross.—The pedestal is to be seen in this lane at a spot where another lane joins it, about a third of a mile south of the village of Cockerham. This cross is, however, over the boundary into the hundred of Lonsdale.

POTTER BROOK CROSS.—The site is at Cross Hill, about half a mile south-west from Bayhorse railway station. The pedestal (which was well known) is supposed to have been removed about the year 1839, when the road was deflected for quarrying purposes. The cross stood on the boundary line between the hundreds of Lonsdale and Amounderness.

BUCK'S CROSS, HOLLETH.—The base of this cross is in a lane three-quarters of a mile nearly due east from Cockerham village.

COOK GREEN CROSS.—The base is in the hedge, much hidden, in a lane near Cook Green, about one hundred

yards east of the Independent Chapel, and one and a half miles south-east from the village of Cockerham. The base is hexagonal on plan, a somewhat unusual feature.

CRAWLEY'S CROSS.—These words occur on the map four miles in a north-westerly direction from S. Michaelson-Wyre, at the southernmost point of Cockerham Moss, and two miles south-east from the village of Pilling. The cross marks one of the angles in the boundary line between the hundreds of Amounderness and Lonsdale and the junction of the three parishes of Cockerham, Pilling, and Winmarleigh. The structure consists of a time-worn plain Latin cross with rounded angles, sixteen inches in height and twelve inches in width, cut out of a block of millstone grit. This venerable cross is socketted into a stone pillar about three feet six inches in height. This once important landmark now stands somewhat ignominiously in a ditch. The following extracts from the Cockersand Chartulary throw much light on its history:-

The bounds of the demesne Hay of Pilling begin where Pilling [water] falls into Coker, ascending Pilling [water] to a certain dyke there, called Meredike, following that dyke as far as it goes, thence in a straight line southward and somewhat eastward, to wit south-east, to a point opposite Crawley Head (Crow-lache), from thence in a straight line unto Crawleyhead, following Crawley unto Pilling-water again. [Mr. Farrer writes-Lache, Leach, either from the A.S. lac, a pool, or the Welsh llaith, moist. It appears in many Lancashire place-names, Latchford, Blacklache, etc.] . . . Whereby the said Lady Christiana, for the health of her soul, and the souls of her husband, father, and mother, and all her ancestors, confirmed and remitted all her right in the Manor of Cockerham, the Church of Cockerham, and Chapel of Ellel, and Crimbles, both this side and beyond Cocker, to the said church of S. Mary de Pré of Leicester, with all their lands and tenements lying within the following bounds, to wit, between the moss of the said Abbot and Convent, and the land of the lord of Harrington [the manor of Thurnham], including within a circuit the Bank house and Thursland [both these places are in existence] as far as the four oaks, thence to Michael's Ford in Cocker, following Cocker to Eskbeck [now called Park Lane Brook], following Eskbeck to the cross which marks the division between the said Abbot's Great Pool, thence to Mossbreck, following the same to the western side to Otter Pool Sty, through the moss to Drybirches, thence to Crawlache [now known as Crawley's Cross], and thence to Pilling water, and so down to the sea. Saving to the Lady Christiana and her heirs the abode of four monks dwelling there in the manner and form that has anciently been used. [Date of this deed about 1320.]

And as regards the uncertainty as to the limits and bounds between the moss land of the manors of Cockerham and Pilling, the said Abbots of Leicester and Cockersand mutually agreed that the following boundary should for ever be maintained, to wit, commencing at Crawley Head, where the cross stands, in a straight line northwards down to the ancient ditch belonging to the said Abbey towards Pilling, following the same as it turns into Pilling water, and so by Pilling water along the ancient course into the sea.

The village of Great Eccleston is situated near the south bank of the river Wyre, seven miles inland from the coast and nine miles in a north-westerly direction from Preston Market Place. The following notes suggest the sites of ancient crosses in this locality:—

Cross House.—About one mile east from Great Eccleston, and one and a quarter miles south-west from S. Michaels-on-Wyre.

WHITE CROSS HOUSE.—One mile south-east from Great Eccleston.

Crossmoor.—The name of a hamlet one and a half miles south-east from Great Eccleston.

THE FAIRY WELL, PREESALL.—Preesall is an ancient village about two miles south-east by east from Fleetwood, one mile inland from the sea-shore, and one and a half east of the river Wyre. A few hundred yards to the north of the village is Preesall Hill, and close to it are the words "Fairy Well" on the map.

A writer on the subject of superstitions in the Antiquary for 1881 says: "At the early stages of the church, we

would ask what part of the ritual and observances are not in some sense or another the adaptation of Christian doctrine or popular customs. At the very outset we perceive the Christian church adopting, or perhaps it would be more proper to say, recognising, the actuality of the pagan mythology by relegating its gods to the inferior class of dœmons. . . . But even this negative way of adopting the old beliefs gave way as the church spread further. The tribe of dœmons soon included the popular fairy elf and goblin, and then came the positive adoption of pagan customs."

"KIRKHAM" is the name of a tiny village one and a half miles north-east from Preesall, near the sea-shore, probably recording the site of an ancient church or chapel, which has disappeared long ago.

Cross at Oakenclough.—A portion of an ancient cross slab is to be seen projecting from a roadside wall two miles in a north-westerly direction from Admarsh Church, and three and a half miles in a north-easterly direction from the town of Garstang. It was placed there as one of a series of stepping-stones over the wall about the year 1820.

The stone is three feet three inches long and one foot in thickness. It measures nine inches on the face, on which is worked a rudely cut raised Latin cross. The date may be so far back as the eleventh or twelfth century. How it came to be in its present position is a mystery. Admarsh is the nearest churchyard, but it would not be worth while in a stone district to carry a stone of this description any great distance. Much uncertainty exists as to the site of the colony of Cistercian monks in Wyresdale. The probability is, that it was,

as shown on the ordnance maps, at Abbeystead, in the Lonsdale hundred. Some authorities, however, think that this institution was in the Amounderness hundred, not far from Garstang. There may, indeed, have been two such settlements, and an examination of the country round Oakenclough might result in the discovery of some remains of a religious house with its cemetery.

On the back side of this slab a groove has been cut the whole length, and a similar groove is seen on an adjoining step. The latter seems to have been split off from the cross slab, which was probably much wider originally than it is now.

I am indebted to Mr. A. Hewitson and Mr. A. King for some of the foregoing particulars.





PREHISTORIC ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

Report of Addresses at the meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, held in the Gallery of the Whitworth Institute, on Monday, January 19th, 1903.

THE MYCENÆAN ART.

Professor Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., at the request of Mr. Darbishire, described the facsimile productions of gold plate and jewellery discovered by Dr. Schliemann in the excavations at the citadel and burial-places of Mycenæ that were exhibited in a large case in the centre of the room. He also spoke of the Mycenæan civilisation and the discoveries made by Dr. Arthur J. Evans.

Professor Dawkins remarked that the case contained a series of the facsimiles of the best of the gold plate and articles which had been discovered in association with the Mycenæan civilisation. That civilisation was one which was not confined to Mycenæ. It was spread over the whole of the eastern part of the Mediterranean. It was felt in Rome; it was felt all along the coast line of Greece. Athens, the great source of the art of the west, was an ancient Mycenæan centre, and further to the west there was the wonderful series of discoveries



This shows a sand mound through which a cutting has been made by the iron workings. The peat bed is exposed below. Mr. Gatty is picking up pigmies on the surface.



which had been made by his friend, Dr. Arthur Evans, in Crete. Before he dealt with the objects in the case he would refer to the main results of Dr. Evans's discoveries. Dr. Evans found a palace, which was always attributed by the ancients to King Minos. It occupied a very large area of ground, and rose in three terraced storeys, with great entrance halls, reception halls, courts, and all the accessories of luxury which one might expect in a building of that magnitude. The courts were adorned with columns, the walls, some of them, were frescoed. In the adornment of the walls there were also pieces of coloured glass let in. Some walls were veneered with beautiful slabs of polished alabaster. Among the chambers there was included a sculptor's studio, containing tazzas. Every part of the palace had been satisfactorily explored, with the exception of a small area, which would be finished in the course of this year.

Among the objects found there were articles of wondrous beauty made of silver, of gold, and of bronze. One of the most beautiful specimens he had ever seen was an elaborate kind of chess-board, or a board used for some similar game. The squares of this board were made of ivory, stained black, and white silver, and each of these was covered with a thin plate of transparent rock crystal, beautifully polished, and set in gold. It has a margin of rosettes with inlays of red and blue glass (kuanion). This object was one of the most artistic things he had ever seen.

With regard to the building itself, the sanitary arrangements were excellent. Water was laid on to wherever it could be supplied by gravitation. There was also a perfect system of sewerage, better he should almost think than most of our own systems at the present time. We were accustomed to look upon the Cloaca Maxima—

the great sewer—at Rome as being the great sewer of antiquity, but that was as nothing at all, looking to the size of Rome, compared with the wondrous system of sewers—big enough for people to walk through—which were to be found ramifying through this great palace.

The palace was built upon deposits, proved by the polished stone axes in it to belong to the Neolithic Age. All the instruments found in this palace belonged to the Bronze Age, and it was only in the later period of the desolation of the palace that any iron is found. The site, therefore, had been occupied in the Neolithic Age, and as late as the Age of Iron. The period of occupation is marked by the various objects which have been discovered belonging to Egypt. A fragment of a statue of one of the Egyptian kings in one of the reception rooms proves that the palace was in full glory about two thousand four hundred years before Christ. Dr. A. J. Evans believes that it was in existence at least three hundred years before that. The time at which it was destroyed was somewhere about eleven hundred or twelve hundred years before Christ.

Such then was a palace belonging to a great feudal prince of the Bronze Age, which we knew from Hesiod and Homer to be prehistoric in that part of the world. Thus, there was at that time a civilisation with men sufficiently educated to build great palaces of the sort described, and fill them with works of the most wonderful beauty and most perfect art. The existence of Egyptian things in this great palace showed that there must have been commerce with Egypt. And if the Egyptians contributed to the splendour of this palace, the Mycenæans contributed their gold cups for the luxury and enjoyment of the highly-civilised classes in Egypt. Over and over again the cups represented in the case in the centre of the

room, observed Professor Dawkins, were to be seen in Egyptian frescoes, unmistakably Mycenæan in their moulding and in their art.

There was another point worthy of remark in this connection. It so happened that he had had the opportunity of examining several skulls from tombs in Crete, belonging to this ancient people, and he found that they had all the attributes of a highly-civilised race, far removed from the conditions of the struggle for existence among barbarous peoples. The skulls showed largely-developed brains, thin cell walls for the brains, large foreheads, elegant and delicate features, and bad teeth, which, as we all knew, formed one of the invariable results of living an artificial life.

With regard to the things in the case. First of all there was a series of golden masks. These masks were found in ancient burial-places in the fortress-temple of Mycenæ, and they represented with approximate fidelity the features of the dead. Among the most noticeable objects were the daggers. The blades were made of bronze, but bronze inlaid with most wonderful skill in gold and in silver. In one lions were represented; in others various scenes of hunting were depicted. The handles were beautifully adorned with the most perfect taste. They were worthy of note because some of their designs, such as the double spiral, penetrated as far away from the Mediterranean as Scandinavia and Ireland, and are to be found in tombs of the Bronze and Iron Ages.

The repoussée work belonging to this early time was of singular beauty and particularly worth notice. One of two gold cups, found in a Mycenæan tomb in Sparta, was ornamented with a scene in the hunting of the great wild bull (Urus) which formerly lived in the forests all over Europe, except in the far north, and in Asia Minor. In

one portion of it a bull had tossed one hunter and was in the act of tossing another. In another a bull was shown caught in the net, and in a third a bull was kicking up his heels rejoicing that he had not been attacked by the hunter nor caught in the net. In the second cup the taming of the wild bull is represented, and one bull, bellowing with rage, is being driven by a man who had a rope attached to the hind leg of the beast. There are two others following on, tame, and apparently happy in one another's company. The *repoussée* work is as good as anything of the kind in any part of the world.

These cups are of the greatest importance and interest in the history of art. We generally look upon Athenian art as being developed either in Athens or Asia Minor. We know it was derived neither from Assyria nor from Egypt. When we see in these cups that the Mycenæan art was in existence long before the name of Greek was known in the Mediterranean, and when we grasped the further fact that Athens was a great centre of the Mycenæan power, they would at once see where the Greeks got their artistic inspiration. They got it from the Mycenæans. The Mycenæan art lived on under the name of Greek art, and the frieze of the Parthenon is merely the outcome of the art shown in the Spartan cups.

Thus it would be seen that in the case exhibited there was a most important contribution to the history of art. The contents of the case formed the first beginnings of a collection in Manchester, which would show where the Greeks got their art, and whence the main inspiration of the western art was derived. It was derived from a Mycenæan source. The Mycenæans were probably a non-Aryan and pre-Aryan race in possession of the land before the name of Greek was known in the Mediterranean. The Achæans were their conquerors, and derived the art

which was manifested in the early Greek art in Athens from those whom they conquerod.

Subsequently Professor Boyd Dawkins, in acknowledging a vote of thanks, said that the Mycenæan discoveries would, in his opinion, revolutionise our ideas of the history of western art, and have a far-reaching effect on the study of the civilisation of the Mediterranean region in prehistoric and early historic times.

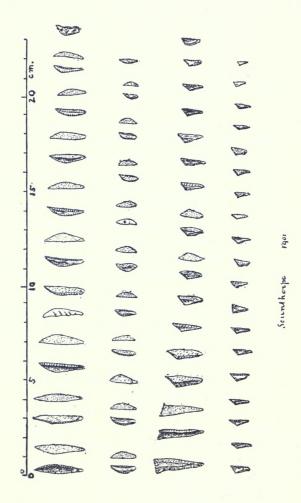
PIGMY FLINT IMPLEMENTS.

The Rev. Reginald A. Gatty, LL.B., in his address on "Pigmy Flint Implements" (which was illustrated on the screen), said that his subject must not be measured by the size of the implements offered for inspection. He would say at once that they were genuine implements, worked, and wrought by the hand of man, and that they had stood the test of examination by the Anthropological Institute of London, and by the Cambridge University, and had not been "plucked." The first idea which these implements suggested was that they were the work of a small race, pigmies in fact, and he had given them the name of pigmy flints for that reason. But he was not for a moment going to say that was the right name. We had our legends of dwarfs and fairies. We had fairy rings, fairy pipes, and other myths, and though he was a firm believer in the truth of tradition he could not go so far as to say that a race of men made these things proportionate in stature to their minute size. For what should we have? Certainly nothing human, nothing so big even as the late General Tom Thumb, but a creature absurdly small and out of all reason. They must, therefore, confine themselves within the bounds of common-sense, and these told them that for some intention and purpose, at present unknown, a class of human beings (he would not say that they might not have been small human beings) used these peculiar tools in the Stone Age. The Stone Age, as they knew, represented the period preceding that of metals, and went back into the remotest ages. It had, however, two well-defined epochs, the Palæolithic and the Neolithic. With the former they had no concern on this occasion, as these flints belonged, without the slightest doubt, to the neolithic era. He might go deeper into this part of the subject, and explain the various evidences which confirmed that statement, but it would suffice if he told them that the flints were picked up ten feet above the peat in which neolithic remains were found. That was a very curious fact, as other flints of the same character were found by Dr. Colley March on the Rochdale moors ten feet below the peat. He (Mr. Gatty) got his at an altitude of less than one hundred feet above sealevel, and Dr. Colley March got his at an altitude of one thousand three hundred feet. Peat deposits were not altogether trustworthy in the obtaining of dates. He (Mr. Gatty) fancied that in Ireland recent peat slides had covered many a cottage which some day might be dug out by zealous antiquaries. What then should be their guide was the form and type of the implements themselves. There was no deception on this point. Their characteristics were as distinct, and as unvariable as the arrowheads and scrapers of the neolithic times. They would notice in the types shown in the lantern slides on the screen the shouldered form, the rounded at one end and pointed at the other form, the crescentic knife and the knife with its straight back, the borer with its sharp point, the chisel, and the tiny scrapers. Those formed the most marked types. There were others, such as points of flint, which he had mounted on shafts, which suggested that they might have been used as darts, blown through a hollow reed, and perhaps poisoned into the bargain. He would not, however, discourse further upon the variations in their shapes, but go at once into the more interesting question of where these pigmy implements had been picked up.

By tracing the localities, by comparing notes and specimens, sound deductions might be drawn, which would help towards a solution of this intricate question. He had a great contempt for armchair archæology. One might buy specimens, sit in a study and write books, but one could not arrive at sound data without going out into the fields and searching with one's own eyes. More than twenty-five years ago he found pigmy flints on the fields at Bradfield, about seven miles from Penistone, a thousand feet above sea-level. He endeavoured to get them accepted as flint implements, but was told that they were accidental chips. Then Mr. Carlyle brought back from India the same types of pigmies found by him in the floors of the caves of the Vindhya Hills. Having obtained a small series of these he (Mr. Gatty) compared them with his own, and found that they were identically the same in all respects, excepting that the Indian tools were chalcedony and his were flint.

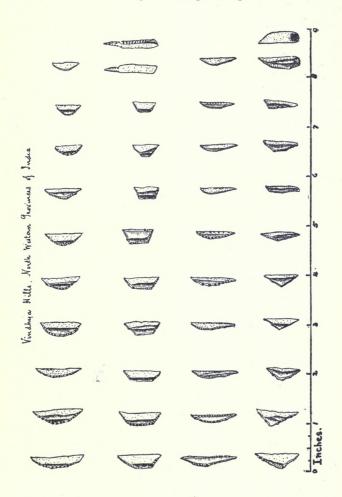
Dr. Colley March kindly sent him (Mr. Gatty) a paper on his finds at Rochdale, and this confirmed him in believing that he was not deceived by the little flints. A discovery by Mr. Brown, of Scunthorpe, led him to go down to that place, and the result he placed before them to-night in the large collection which he was exhibiting from there. Scunthorpe was a very interesting place geologically. It was a flat, sandy country, with a range

of low hills rising abruptly from the plain and extending for thirty miles to Lincoln. The flints were found both on



the hill and plain, in isolated spots where the sand blows over barren ground. This sand was all Æolian, wind

blown, nothing marine was found in it, and in places it was as much as twenty feet deep. In parts there was a



bed of peat, three to four feet thick, below the sand, and at the bottom of all was a bed of ironstone of great value up to fifteen feet and more in thickness. This was now being worked, and the sand was bared and the ironstone dug out. The soil above was broken by mounds of blown sand, and again there were many of them broken in at the top, where a sort of floor was to be seen on which the pigmies lay. He had no doubt these were ancient habitations. He had found a heap of cremated bones exposed by the blowing sand, and an incense cup of rude pottery. In more than one instance he had struck upon a hearth, with pigmy flints lying beside rude undressed flakes of flint. He especially noted this because the common neolithic flints, such as arrowheads, scrapers, knives, &c., were not at all abundant—indeed, they were rare. He had also never found an axe or polished



implement on the sand mounds. Mr. Carlyle found the pigmies in the Vindhya Hills with no other implements associated with them. He (Mr. Gatty) could not say this of Scunthorpe, but pigmies were far more abundant than neoliths. Some few of the Scunthorpe pigmies were made of chalcedony, which made their resemblance to the Indian ones most remarkable. He would now deal with other places in England and his own experience at Lakenheath. Lakenheath was not far from Cambridge. It was one of the most extraordinary spots in the world for flint implements and other later remains. He was there a few weeks ago and found identically the same conditions as at Scunthorpe. There was the same blowing sand, the same mounds, the same barren waste, but a far more varied collection of flints. To begin with, the gravel pits on the warren yielded palæolithic tools. The

surface was littered with all classes of neolithic implements, including axes and polished tools, and among these were to be found the pigmies. So far the evidence had all been against finding pigmy flints with the later neoliths, but Lakenheath was an exception. He was interested in seeing how similar this district was to Scunthorpe, and it rather looked as if the makers of the small tools preferred a barren, sandy common to more fertile lands. His evidence of other places, remarked Mr. Gatty, was entirely hearsay. Mr. Abbott had found pigmies at Sevenoaks and Hastings; Mr. Kennard, of Beckenham, had found them at Sittingbourne; Mr. Laurence, of London, at Wandsworth, and no doubt others had discovered them also. It was of interest to know that they had been got at Namur in Belgium by Mr. Pierpont, and they had also been found in France Mr. Pierpont stated in his pamphlet on these small tools that he found them in some places with no other flint implements near them and never with polished tools. This confirmed Mr. Carlyle's report of what he got in the Vindhya Hills. It was well to be very careful in noting these facts as upon them a good deal might depend. Coming to the size of the implements, Mr. Gatty stated that Mr. Charles Seidler, whose great knowledge and experience placed his evidence above all others, had practically dealt with the entire Carlyle collection, and also the Scunthorpe series. Mr. Seidler had carefully measured and drawn to scale the implements of both series, and the following was the result. The smallest Indian shouldered pigmy flint was ten-sixteenths of an inch; the smallest Scunthorpe three-sixteenths of an inch. The smallest Indian rounded and pointed was ten-sixteenths of an inch: Scunthorpe four-sixteenths; Indian crescent eightsixteenths of an inch; Scunthorpe six-sixteenths. It

would be noticed that the Scunthorpe tools were far the smallest, but he (Mr. Gatty) believed this was due to the fact the smallest Indian implements were overlooked.

With regard to the question of the identity of type and character between the Indian and European pigmies, he was at once met with the old adage that a common want begat a common tool. Was this, however, a sound observation, and would it bear the test which might be applied to it? Take the ordinary arrowhead. It might be supposed that the man in India, and the man of Scunthorpe both wanted to shoot. Why then did the Indian never make a stone arrowhead, while the man in England did? Was it conceivably possible that men separated by many thousands of miles, would each evolve these pigmy flints in at least four distinct types for some deep purpose known to themselves, but which we, in these later times, could not possibly imagine or suggest? In fact, he came before them to-night absolutely unable to give even a hazardous opinion as to the practical purpose for which the pigmies were devised. He could get no answer at the Anthropological meeting in London, nor again at the Cambridge University. He was, however, glad to be able to read to them the views of that eminent antiquary, the Rev. Canon Greenwell, on this point. The canon refused to believe in the common want suggesting a common tool, and said: "I can say, without the least hesitation, that the pigmy flints are manufactured articles, and brought into certain shapes to adapt them to certain purposes. I can also confidently assert that many show evident and abundant signs of having been in use. The next matter about which I can speak with perfect confidence is the fact that flint or some other stone implements, fabricated after the same fashion

and characterised by the same forms, have been found not only in several localities in England, but also in Belgium and other places in Europe, and in very great abundance in India. In fact so similar are many of the pigmies found in India to those found at Scunthorpe, Lakenheath, &c.; that, but for the differences of material. anyone on seeing them would say without hesitation that the Indian specimens had been picked up at Scunthorpe. Nor do I think it possible, though I do not now speak so confidently as I have already spoken about their being manufactured, that they would have originated among different peoples who had no intercourse or traffic going on between them. A common intelligence, a common purpose, a common material, could not, I think, produce forms so marked, and indeed peculiar, as are found among these tools. What the relationship, intercourse, or traffic I have suggested may have been I know not, but that there was a connecting link, I believe." This view of pigmy flints, observed Mr. Gatty, considerably increased the importance of these little objects, and he thought it was the clue which should be followed up and enlarged. It was of little use making guesses as to their practical uses, and he need not detail the various suggestions which had been made, from fish hooks to tatooing tools. The fact that they had been found with no larger tools near them raised the question whether the makers made nothing else but small implements, and his efforts had been directed to multiply the types. The scrapers which he had not seen in Mr. Carlyle's series from India were very numerous, and so small that sixty-four put in the scale weighed under half an ounce. There was also a numerous class which he (Mr. Gatty) called nondescripts, as they had no special form, but which, nevertheless, showed marks of work and use upon them. These

indicated that small implements were in general demand and served some purpose which at present we did not understand. The question of a dwarf race was one about which he could say nothing, but he hoped he had deprived none of them of their faith in the stories of Grimm, and Hans Christian Andersen. He was full of regret, he remembered, when he learnt that fairy rings were caused by a fungus growth, and not by the light steps of fairy feet under a summer's moon. But he could assure them that pigmy flint hunting was a delightful occupation for body and mind. It took one far away from this matter of fact world, and led one back in thought to that prehistoric past, the silent records of which lay strewn at our feet, to meditate on what man was, is, and will be.

Mr. W. H. Sutcliffe read a paper prepared by Dr. H. Colley March on a series of obsidian flakes and cores from the island of Capri, near Naples. In this it was stated that some of the flakes were imperfect or broken pigmy implements, and it was evident that only in the production of such tools could such tiny cores as those shown have been used. There was no native obsidian in Capri, and the nearest place from which it could have been fetched was the island of Ponza, about seventy miles to the north-west. Attached to a card exhibited were sixteen small stone implements in four rows. The two pigmies in the middle of the top row were of considerable importance, because they were found in barrows in Staffordshire by the late Mr. Bateman. One of the implements, which had been much used, was met with in association with a deposit of burned bones and a broken urn of red clay, of good form and workmanship, and

ornamented with diagonal lines disposed in triangles in alternate directions. The other implement, which was calcined, was associated with "a skeleton that lay on its left side, with the knees contracted, and a most elegant and elaborately ornamented drinking cup," of which a woodcut is given by Bateman. No metal was discovered in either case. If these pigmy implements were proper to their barrows, their antiquity and relationship could be estimated, but if they got into the barrows by accident, because they happened to be lying in the soil of which the barrows were made, then they might be more ancient than the interments, but they could not possibly be more recent. Referring to other exhibits, Dr. March (in his paper) said that at Port St. Mary, in the Isle of Man, he found a foot beneath the surface of the soil a compact layer of rubble about three inches thick, in which were fixed by a calcareous cement a number of implements, flakes, and cores of flint. were extricated and cleaned with some difficulty. Their interest lay in that they were beyond all doubt mutually related, homogeneous and contemporaneous. There was a very good "top" scraper, many knives, a long implement beautifully wrought at one end into a fine point, and several pigmies of small size, characteristic shape, and delicate working. We were thus able to learn with confidence, the paper concluded, what other kinds of tools these pigmy makers used and, as far as Staffordshire was concerned, at what period they flourished, though when they came to this country and when they vanished from it or ceased from their labours, we could not tell.

A paper by Mr. W. H. Sutcliffe, on pigmy and other flint implements discovered by Dr. March, Mr. Parker, and himself in the neighbourhood of Rochdale, was left over for a future meeting.

EXHIBITED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE WHITWORTH INSTITUTE.

A case containing a series of reproductions, from specimens in the Museum of Antiquities at Athens, of gold masks, plate, daggers, rings and other personal ornaments, found by Dr. Schliemann in his excavation of ancient burial-places on the hill of Mycenæ (in German silver gilt).

Note especially the elegance and grace of form and ornamentation of tazzas and cups, and the singular refinement of the ornament on the daggers. Also the extraordinary force and finish of the designs of animals in action on cups and daggers. Also a gold mask of a deceased hero (crushed flat), and side by side the same mask refolded to represent the actual features of the deceased, a veritable "king of men." And, further, the series of gold seal rings engraved in intaglio with various, perhaps mythological, groups of figures and animals (see the enlarged photographs in the case). A curious fragment in silver of a large vessel represents with great spirit a scene in a siege of a walled citadel.

Photographs of the principal objects in this collection were thrown on

the screen and described by Mr. R. D. Darbishire.

EXHIBITED BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE MUSEUM, THE OWENS COLLEGE.

One case with a branch of relic rags, and a rod cut as a tally of nine series of five prayers, from the holy well of St. Finbar, Gougane Barra, co. Cork.

One case similar relic rags from Chilpar Beltain, Isle of Man.

One case (exhibited by F. S. Graves, Esq.) of bent pins, which are even now cast into certain wizard or holy wells on Alderley Edge, Cheshire; a very curious and now actually unmeaning survival of some now forgotten superstition.

One specimen of the so-called "Steel Mill," which was used to strike fire for open rush lights in coal mines before the safety lamp was adopted, or, it is said, actually for lighting with a stream of sparks. This specimen is from near Fence Houses, in Durham. The machine is now of very rare occurrence.

EXHIBITED FROM OTHER COLLECTIONS.

Stone Implements collected by Mr. Worthington in Oahu, Friendly Islands.

(Other portions of the collection are in the museums of Oxford, Manchester, &c.)

One case of stone adze-heads of various sizes (see mounted specimen in another case).

One case small adze or axe heads, two stone mirrors (highly polished, wetted when used, and will reflect a face exposed in bright sunlight), three smoothing stones.

One case with sling stones, stones for game of ?, stone sinker for fishing line, two stone cups "for oil."

Lamps and various Glass from (Roman) Burial-places near Hebron and near Mount Carmel (date about 400 a.d.?).

Two cases of lamps variously shaped and adorned. Some with Christian symbols, the Cross, the Vine, the Fish, and mottoes (some in very imperfect Greek) such as "The Light of Christ appears for All."

One case of rudest lamps from Malta, Cyprus, Crete, and Palestine.

Two cases of small glass bottles, cups, &c. (Note a curious sprinkling bottle.)

One case of bottles for essences or scent ("lacrymatories"?).

One case of tubes for holding stibium, or other face powder (like kohl amongst Eastern women for eye decoration), with the small bronze spoons for applying.

Specimens of Woollen Textiles, &c., from Burial-places, Chincay, Peru.

Two small woven fringes.

One large piece with designs of crabs, and tasselled fringe.

Four elaborate tassels on a cord, with design of a singular face.

One large breastplate of overlaid textile, with an elaborate design of a man between two girls.

Two cases, contents of a workbox.

One case with four figures of men, very rudely carved in wood.

NATIVE CARVINGS OF THE ESKIMO ON IVORY AND BONE, FROM ALASKA.

One fire drill, with mouthpiece and drill (fragment of an iron nail). Small harpoon head with slate point. Small spear with worked flint point.

One case with various objects, including two human figures, and various engravings of hunting, fishing, &c., men and animals.

Sixteen specially shaped and highly decorated pipes. One pipe of brass, "Yukon."

One case of five engraved knives, with two peculiar pipes.

One case of sling-balls, for catching birds; plain ivory; a peculiar set of long balls elaborately engraved (old native, valuable and rare). Balls from Greenland. One elaborate necklace of shaped and polished ivory.

VARIOUS CASES OF STONE IMPLEMENTS ..

By Mr. W. H. Sutcliffe: A large collection of stone implements of various ages and classes from the district around Rochdale, including a series of "pigmy flints." A series of stone implements of different aps

and divers localities. Pigmy stone implements from Staffordshire and Isle of Man. Obsidian flakes and cores from the island of Capri.

By the Rev. Reginald A. Gatty, LL.B.: Large collection of pigmy implements from various districts in England, India, and elsewhere.

By Mr, W. J. Lewis Abbott, F.G.S.: A collection of pigmy implements from the neighbourhood of Hastings, Sussex.

By the Director of the Museum, the Owens College: A collection of

pigmy implements from various parts of India.

By Mr. R. D. Darbishire, F.S.A.: A case of small implements, and others from the desert by Wady Halfa, Soudan, and the like from surface finding near Swanscombe, Kent; and of slate from Constantine Bay, Cornwall. Also three cases showing the range and variety of neolithic implements found at the surface near Mildenhall, Suffolk; and specimens of so called slate implements found at The Camp, Cornwall coast, near Padstow.

SPECIMENS OF HAFTED STONES.

One case, Lifu and Oahu.

One case, Australian, with a saw of small flakes in a rod.

One case, Australian knives and spear-head.

One case of tools hafted with twisted willow withes: (a) Alderley old copper mine maul, (b) North American Indian ancient axe, (c) "Cold Sett," a blacksmith's tool made for use, September, 1902, at Nantwich.

One case with photographs of neolithic polished celt with the original haft, and a spare haft beside, from Etenside Tarn, Cumberland (British Museum).

OTHER COLLECTIONS.

By Mr. Charles Roeder: A collection of interesting Roman remains from Castlefield, Manchester.

By Mr. Thomas May, F.E.I.S.: Objects found during special excavations on the site of the Roman circles at Wilderspool and Stockton Heath, near Warrington, in 1901-2. A sculptured stone head and a bronze bust of Minerva. Fragments of glass vessels, window glass, enamel, beads, Bronze fibulæ, brooches in enamel. Rings, &c. A polished stone celt found at Stockton Heath in 1902.

By Mr. Geo. C. Yates, F.S.A.: Modern stone implements, mounted and unmounted, from New Guinea, New Zealand, Australia, Solomon Islands, Hayti, Fiji Islands, and North America. Egg-shaped stone implement made of stalagmite, for throwing by hand, Savage Island. Sling-bolt of stalagmite from Gilbert Island. Two meris make of dark volcanic stone, one with a hole drilled through the handle; these weapons are highly valued, and are passed on from father to son; from New Zealand. Jade tiki or heitiki, rudely carved human figure; they are held very sacred, and considered as heirlooms; they are worn on the breast, suspended round the neck, and almost all Maoris of rank possess one. A series of shell ornaments, consisting of necklaces and armlets of cut and drilled shells, nose ornaments, ear rings, &c.; from New Guinea, Solomon

Islands, Admiralty Islands, Australia. One case of shell fish-hooks; one case of pigmy fish-hooks; South Sea Islands. Specimens of wampum; North America.

By Miss Yates, Swinton: One case of shell cameos. One case of mother of pearl ornaments and card counters.





PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, January 31st, 1902.

O^N January 31st the annual meeting was held at Chetham's Hospital, the President, Dr. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., in the chair.

The nineteenth annual report was read by Mr. G. C. Yates, F.S.A., Honorary Secretary.

The voting for the Council for the ensuing year resulted as follows:—

President:

Rev. E. F. LETTS, M.A.

Vice-Presidents:

WM. E. A. AXON, LL.D., F.R.S.L. Dr. BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S., F.S.A. Lieut.-Col. FISHWICK, F.S.A.

GEORGE PEARSON.
Dr. F. RENAUD, F.S.A.
CHARLES W. SUTTON.

Of the Council:

SAMUEL ANDREW.
C. T. TALLENT-BATEMAN.
F. A. BROMWICH.
W. S. CHURCHILL.
ALFRED DARBYSHIRE, F.S.A.
Lieut.-Colonel French.
HENRY GUPPY.

NATHAN HEYWOOD.
D. F. HOWORTH, F S.A. (Scot.).
Rev. H. A. HUDSON, M.A.
FLETCHER MOSS, J.P.
ALBERT NICHOLSON.
J. J. PHELPS.
W. J. REDFORD.

J. E. SANDBACH.

Treasurer: WILLIAM HARRISON.

Honorary Secretary: GEORGE C. YATES, F.S.A.

Dr. Stocks exhibited a cinerary urn (Roman period, circa first century), found about twelve feet under ground whilst excavating for a well at Boar's Hill, near Oxford; also a fibula of bronze of the same period, and stones showing traces of fire.

Friday, 14th February, 1902.

The monthly meeting was held at Chetham's Hospital, Mr. Charles W. Sutton presiding.

The Rev. George A. Pugh, M.A., read a paper on "The Old Windows of Ashton-under-Lyne Parish Church," which was illustrated with numerous excellent photographs and drawings by Mr. J. J. Phelps. (See page 130.)

Mr. Phelps said he had listened with pleasure to Mr. Pugh's explanation of the historic and legendary subjects depicted in the windows. The work of photographing them had been an interesting experiment, and during the processes involved he had been struck by the amount of secular interest the subjects contained, such as that relating to architecture and costume, still easily discernible, though the windows had become by misfortune a mere patchwork of their former splendour. He desired the members to notice the beautiful detail drawing of the fifteenth century armour, the head-dresses, and the costume of the same period, also the rich jewel work in the crowns, papal tiaras, mitres, and articles of personal adornment. Of some of these he had made large-size sketches, which he laid upon the table for the inspection of the members. He also directed attention to the pictorial representation of important people evidenced by their dress, such as various royal personages, courtiers, ladies and gentlemen of high degree, their coats-of-arms, and soldiers in armour; also churches, canopy work, tiled

pavements, castles, turrets, balconies, and other architectural features. So far as he knew the windows had not as yet been illustrated, as specimens of rich colouring and detail drawing of costume, in any of the numerous books on such matters.

Mr. A. Nicholson afterwards made a short communication on some engraved Cheshire portraits, which he illustrated with interesting specimens. He also showed a fine "grangerised" copy of Ormerod's *Cheshire*, belonging to Mr. Francis Nicholson.

Mr. D. F. Howorth exhibited the mandate of the Archbishop of York for the induction of Henry Fairfax, M.A., to the parish church of Ashton-under-Lyne, 15th March, 1618–19, certified by the vicars of Mottram-in-Longdendale and Macclesfield and by several of the parishioners.

Mr. J. J. Phelps exhibited a portrait of Piers Dutton, of Halton, in whom Henry VIII. confirmed the advowry of the Cheshire minstrels. From an original painting in the possession of Mr. Gunnery, Liverpool.

Mr. R. Hamnett exhibited sixteen Roman lead weights, two spindle whorls, two ornaments, and one bronze weight from the north-eastern portion of Melandra Castle;* also an original chirograph of fine dated 21 Eliz. (A.D. 1598) relating to property at Chapel-en-le-Frith.

Mr. G. C. Yates, F.S.A., exhibited a flint implement from Santon and a large stone celt from Sweden.

Friday, March 14th, 1902.

At the monthly meeting held at Chetham's Hospital, Lieut.-Colonel Fishwick, F.S.A., in the chair, Mr. Charles

^{*} The Roman weights found at Melandra Castle have since been carefully described by Mr. Thomas May in the Derbyshire Archaelogical Society's Journal, 1903.

Roeder read a paper on "Food and Drink in Lancashire in the Sixteenth Century." (See page 41.)

In the discussion on this paper Messrs. J. D. Andrew, Sandbach, A. Nicholson, W. Harrison, and the Chairman took part.

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited three medals of Admiral Vernon, 1739; two medals of William, duke of Cumberland; and one of Admiral Kempenfelt.

Mr. Yates also exhibited a MS. copy of the Act of Parliament for building St. Ann's Church, Manchester. 1709; also another document, of which Mr. William Harrison gave the following particulars: This document is the printed case of both parties in an appeal to the House of Lords, heard in March, 1737, the appellant being Sir Darcy Lever and the respondent Mr. John Andrews, of Bolton. It is of interest, first from the names of local persons mentioned in it, and secondly from the description given of the local property in dispute. The chronological narrative it contains covers the period from 1612 onwards, and refers to the following persons: John Hunt, of Manchester, who died in 1642, and Edmund Hunt and George Hunt, his brothers, who survived him; Robert Lever, of Darcy Lever, clothier; John Lever, his son, who died 1646, and Catherine, his widow; John Lever, of Manchester, his younger son, who died 1709, leaving a widow, Margaret, and son; John Lever, of Manchester, who died 1718; Robert Lever, of Darcy Lever, died before 1687, James Lever, of Manchester, clothier, his brother, 1632; Thos. Warburton, of Hill Cliff, Cheshire, gentleman; Richd. Warburton, of Partington, Cheshire, gentleman, 1646; John Lever, of Alkrington, who died June, 1718, and his widow, Frances Lever; John Revel Lever, who died 1734 without issue; Sir Darcy Lever, his brother; Sarah Brearcliffe, the tenant in possession

in 1734; John Tarr; Leigh Page; Jane, daughter of Robt. Lever, who married John Andrews; John Andrews, her eldest son; John Andrews, the respondent; Thos. Partington and Elizabeth, his wife, living 1718; Edward Mosley, the owner of a chief rent paid. The property, the subject of the dispute, is described in 1612 as a messuage in Manchester, in or near to Market Street Lane, a barn belonging to it, and three closes lying near known as the Great Meadow, the Brick-kiln Meadow and the field at the back of the house, later divided into four closes, called the Brick-kiln Meadow, the Little Brick-kiln Meadow, the Kiln Field, and the House Field. the contents being by estimation ten acres. The house in question is no doubt the one occupied later by Sir Ashton Lever, and which ultimately became the White Bear Hotel, and the fields were those abutting on what was known as Lever's Row until it was renamed Piccadilly, out of which there still runs Lever Street. A short lease of the property made in 1612 had been followed in 1632 by a longer one, for one hundred years. The freehold was afterwards bought, but was conveyed not to the lessee, but to two other persons, and the question in dispute was whether these persons were entitled for their own benefit, or were to be considered trustees for the lessee. As no rent was paid, the question did not become acute till the hundred years were up, by which time, of course, things had become considerably mixed. The House of Lords decided in favour of Sir Darcy Lever, reversing the decision of the Court of Chancery.

Friday, April 11th, 1902.

At this meeting, held at Chetham's Hospital, the Rev. E. F. Letts, M.A., President, in the chair,

Mr. Henry Taylor read the fifth paper of the projected series of seven on the "Ancient Crosses and Holy Wells of Lancashire," taking on this occasion those in the hundred of Amounderness. (See page 145.)

A discussion took place on this paper, in which Messrs. Churchill, Sandbach, J. D. Andrew, Rev. H. Dowsett, Colonel Fishwick, and the Chairman took part.

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited a dished coin of about A.D. 1100 to 1200 of a Greek emperor at Byzantium. He holds a labarum, and his companion is a son or relative associated with him in authority. The other side shows the face of the Saviour with I.C.X.

Saturday, May 3rd, 1902.

A party of members visited The Owens College to inspect the library of their late member, Chancellor Christie. First proceeding to the Whitworth Hall, its noble proportions, its magnificent oak roof, and panelled wainscotting, the graceful windows of tinted glass, the wooden galleries, and grand organ, which was presented by Mrs. Rylands, were greatly admired. Mr. Rhodes gave a brief description of the hall and its different coatsof-arms, and then conducted the party to the Owens College library, which, he said, was begun in 1851 by a donation of twelve hundred volumes from Mr. James Heywood. The library contains upwards of sixty thousand volumes, which are housed in a new building presented to the college by Mr. R. C. Christie and opened in the summer of 1898. The building, in the style of Gothic known as Early English, consists of a ground floor and two upper storeys, connected by a single staircase from which each of the upper floors is entered. The reading-room and reference library is ninety-seven feet in length by forty feet in width, and over twenty feet in height. Around the room are hung portraits of several old members of the Society—the late Duke of Devonshire, Dr. Ward, Dr. Leech, Mr. Christie, and others. A feature of this room is the carved oak screen which divides the reading-room from the portion of the room reserved for Mr. Christie's own books. The chief treasures of this collection were pointed out to the members by the librarian. The collection of Dr. Prince Lee, the first bishop of Manchester, was then inspected. Afterwards were visited the collections of other old members of the Society—Dr. Angus Smith, Professor Milnes, Marshall, and Professor Freeman.

Monday, May 12th, 1902.

A large party of the members visited Kersal Cell, the residence of their fellow member, Dr. Copinger, F.S.A., under the leadership of Mr. George C. Yates, F.S.A.

The party was shown all over this interesting oldedifice, which was the ancient seat of the Byrom family.

Saturday, May 31st, 1902.

A visit was paid to Hoghton Tower. The last similar visit was in 1885, the leader of the party then being Mr. A. Hewitson, and on the occasion of this second visit he took the same $r\hat{o}le$.

Directly after the party had reached the Tower, Mr. Hewitson read in the fine banqueting hall the following notes which he had prepared for the occasion: Hoghton Tower is about six miles south-east of Preston; it is situated on a tree-clad eminence, and occupies one of the most conspicuous and picturesque positions in Lancashire.

Hoghton means, etymologically, a high enclosed place. Its altitude is its most striking feature. The manor of Hoghton was one of the royal order before the Norman Conquest. Hoghton formed part of the land given by William the Conqueror to Roger de Poictou, who afterwards had it taken from him, and later got it back again. Parts of Leyland hundred, including Hoghton, were surrendered to Warin Bussel, one of whose daughters married Hamo Pincerna, who received as a jointure the manor of Hoghton. A son, the second by this union, inherited the manor; and his son subsequently, in the reign of Henry II., became the lord of Hoghton and took the surname of de Hocton. Old records, &c., reveal the fact that Hoghton is spelt in about twenty different ways. The Hoghton family is said to be of Saxon origin. The late Rev. Jonathan Shortt, vicar of Hoghton, a genial, courteous gentleman, and a quiet, persistent, many-sided antiquary, in the course of his researches found out, or by some means had it suggested to him, that the Hoghton family sprang from or was related to Lady Godiva, of Coventry fame. He apparently made it out that Sir Richard de Hocton was a descendant of hers, and that he obtained from the Crown not only free warren of his estate, but permission to enclose a park; that in the fourteenth century a descendant, named Sir Richard Hoghton, obtained a licence from John of Gaunt to enlarge the park; that the family descent was regular till the latter part of the fifteenth century (1468), when through some neglect of or non-compliance with the rules of the Church, on the part of Henry Hoghton, a papal bull became essential to smooth over matters, after which there was an undisturbed genealogical sequence. From the early part of the fourteenth century to the latter portion of the fifteenth century several Hoghtons represented

the county of Lancaster in Parliament. One was High Sheriff of the county in the reign of Edward I. Between 1300 and 1341 Sir Richard de Hoghton founded a chantry in Preston Parish Church. About 1407 a chantry was founded at Ribchester by one of the Hoghtons. And there was a second Hoghton chantry founded in Preston Parish Church by Helen (widow of Sir Henry), who died in 1479. The advowson of this church was granted by James I. to Sir Richard Hoghton, knight, and in the hands of the family it remained till 1828, when Sir H. P. Hoghton, Bart., sold it to the trustees of Hulme's Exhibitions, who still retain the patronage of the living. The Hoghtons figure very prominently in the old municipal and parliamentary annals of Preston. Between 1370 and 1459 members of this family occupied the mayoral chair of Preston eleven times. One of them (Adam de Hocton) was mayor of the borough six times; and thrice Robert de Hoghton was the mayor, once during a guild year. Sir Henry Hoghton, the fifth baronet, was elected member of Parliament for Preston five times between 1709 and 1768, his services in this capacity covering altogether nearly thirty years. He was a strong and well-known Nonconformist. He built or provided a place of worship for "Protestant Dissenters" in Waltonle-Dale, and afterwards helped in the founding of a chapel in Preston for persons of the same belief, a chapel between Percy Street and Church Street, which afterwards became, as it still is, a Unitarian place of worship. The Walton chapel was in time transformed into cottage property, which is now held by the trustees of the Preston Unitarian body. Sir Henry was succeeded as member for Preston by Sir Henry Hoghton the sixth baronet, who held the seat till his death in 1795, and was followed in the membership by his son, Sir Henry Philip, who

retained it till 1802. The seventh and eighth baronets (Sir Henry Philip and Sir Henry) respectively discharged the duties of High Sheriff of Lancashire, the former in 1794 and the latter in 1829. Hoghton Tower was built by Thomas Hoghton in the reign of Elizabeth. It was the immediate successor of a manor house which stood below, near the river Darwen; it was built of stone obtained from a quarry in the Hoghton Park, and was finished in 1565. There is now a stone quarry, in which a large number of hands find employment, at the base of the eminence (eastern side) on which Hoghton Tower stands. Over the arch of the central tower, in front of the general structure, there is a representation in stone of a man struggling with a strange-looking animal. The carving is considerably weather-worn. The man seems to be contending with a griffin, or a lion, or a wild boar. Near the top of the stone there are the carved initials. "T. H." Some persons have conjectured that the man and the animal represent the Hoghton arms; but such is not the case. The letters "T. H." are the initials of Thomas Hoghton, the builder of Hoghton Tower. The figure of a bull on the weather-vane surmounting the front centre is the Hoghton crest. The ancient crest of the Hoghton family was a bull's head argent, the horns tipped, or, charged on the neck with three bars, sable. A stone in the upper part of the wall on the south side of the first courtyard bears the following initials, &c.: "C. H., M. H., 1700. 2 Pt. [Peter], ch v 11, See [ing] then, &c." [2 Peter, iii. ch., v. II, "Seeing, then, that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness."] The initials are those of Charles Hoghton and Mary Hoghton, his wife. Charles Hoghton was the fourth baronet; he was a knight of the shire for the county of

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Lancaster in the Parliaments of 1679-81 and 1688-9, and he died at Hoghton Tower on June 10th, 1710, aged sixty-six. His wife Mary was the eldest daughter of John Skeffington. viscount Massarene, and she died on the 30th of April. 1732. On the north side of the first courtyard, in the upper part of a building, some of which has been restored and the remainder entirely rebuilt, there is a stone bearing, in carved relief, the following: "Finis coronat opus. Has aedes atav restit vend cvravit Jacobus de Hoghton, A.D. MCMI., quo anno Cuthbertys fil eivs Nat Max Ann Aet Svae xxi., complevit. Lavs Deo." Above the entrance to the second courtyard there are the Hoghton arms quartering those of the Assheton family (in the heraldic visitation of Lancashire, in 1553, Sir Richard Hoghton is mentioned as having married Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Assheton, knight); and near the same are the initials and date "T. H., 1565;" (the initials being those of Thomas Hoghton, only son of the marriage just referred to, and builder of the Tower, whilst the date is that of the completion of the structure.) Whilst on his journey, or "royal progress," from Edinburgh to London, in 1617, King James I. halted at Hoghton Tower, and was here for three days the guest of Sir Richard Hoghton. In addition to the king's own retinue, representatives of many county families were at the Tower during the royal visit. Feasting, dancing, hunting, &c., were indulged in, and it is said that one day, when in the banqueting hall, the king knighted a loin of beef, hence the word sir-loin. This ceremony may have been performed at Hoghton Tower, but no actual confirmatory proof of it has been given. Nicholas Assheton, of Downham, who was at the Tower during the king's stay, and enumerated in a private journal the doings thereat, makes no reference to the ceremony in question. In a residence at Chingford,

Essex, King James I. is reported to have knighted a loin of beef; an inscription on a brass plate fixed to a table at this residence says so; and there is also a tradition which ascribes the knighting of the loin to Charles II. But, whether the loin were or were not honoured at Hoghton Tower in the manner referred to, some knighting did take place there during the visit of King James—Cecil Trafford, of the county of Lancaster, and Arthur Lake, of Middlesex, were duly knighted at the Tower by the King. It has been conjectured that whilst on the banks of the Darwen, below Hoghton Tower, the propriety of preparing the Book of Sports was suggested to the mind of the King. Richard Hoghton, who entertained King James I. at the Tower, was a conspicuous person in baronetage annals. He was the second in precedency on the first list when the order was instituted, and he was the primary baronet of the Hoghton family. It is said that he was a merry soul, and that he could this, in the "good old days," would be a first-rate personal quality or social virtue—"put under his silk doublet six bottles of Rhenish wine at one sitting, without being the worse for it." His son and heir Gilbert was a great favourite of the King (James I.), was knighted when only thirteen vears of age during the lifetime of his father, and was noted for his "elegant accomplishments, and especially in dancing." Ben Jonson, in his Antimasque, refers to him. There used to be alum mines in the township of Hoghton, and James I. during his visit inspected them. There are none in Hoghton now. In a work on the history of metals, published in 1672, it is said that "Sir Richard Hoghton set up a very profitable mine of alum nigh unto Hoghton Tower, where store of very good alum was made and sold." Dr. Whitaker states that this mine was held by the Hoghton family under a lease

from the Crown. Captain Hoghton, an ardent Royalist, was killed during the storming of Preston, by the Parliamentary forces, in 1643. He was a brother of Sir Gilbert Hoghton, at that time the owner and occupier of Hoghton Tower. Sir Gilbert, who was a Royalist, was in Preston when the Parliamentary forces came up; but, during the storming, he succeeded, along with Mr. Towneley, of Towneley, near Burnley, in making a safe escape from the town. Five days after the capture of Preston, Captain Starkie (under orders from Sir John Seaton, the Parliamentary general) stormed and took possession of Hoghton Tower; but the lustre of this triumph was quickly and very materially dimmed. In the very flush of victory, and while exulting over their swift capture of a position so strong and commanding, the floors of the Tower heaved, the walls rocked, and a terrific outburst of smoke and flame ensued. An explosion of gunpowder, stored in some of the cellars or subterranean passages, was the cause of this. When the smoke had cleared somewhat, an examination of the débris took place, and there were picked up, of killed and wounded, about sixty of the storming party. The chief officer (Captain Starkie) was amongst the dead. It was never definitely ascertained whether the explosion was the result of an accident, or the outcome of carelessness on the part of some of the Parliamentary soldiers, or the effect of design by certain Royalist adherents. In 1710, as already stated, Sir Charles Hoghton, the fourth baronet, died at the Tower, after which the place was forsaken, or given up, as the family residence. The Hoghtons, some time subsequent, went to reside at Walton Hall, a little to the south-west of Walton-le-Dale village. This hall and the estate attached to it became the property of the Hoghtons in a curious way. In 1304 the manor of Walton

passed by marriage from the Banastres to the Langtons, of Newton, near Kirkham. In the reign of Elizabeth, Thomas Hoghton, of Lea, near Preston, son of Sir Richard Hoghton, impounded some cattle belonging to a widow woman, a tenant of Mr. Langton, who at that time was baron of Newton and lord of the manor of Walton-le-Dale. Irritated by this, Mr. Langton, accompanied by about eighty retainers, proceeded into Lea township, met Mr. Hoghton, at or near Lea Hall, and the latter, having something like thirty men on the spot, or within immediate call, a very fierce fight took place. Mr. Hoghton, along with another person, was killed. Afterwards, in order to save Langton, who was about to be charged at Lancaster Assizes with having fomented or headed an attack which had resulted fatally, Hoghton's death being, of course, the most serious feature of the case, Lord Derby was induced to write to Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and Langton's life was spared. But this immunity involved a costly compensation; it necessitated the surrender of Walton Hall and the estate connected with it to the Hoghton family. When, in 1796, the "Mock Corporation of Walton," a Jacobite club, whose meetings were held at the Unicorn Inn, on the south side of the village, was done away with as a political body (it was afterwards, till about 1820, a purely social club for persons living in or connected with the village), its regalia and records were taken charge of by Sir H. P. Hoghton, Bart., and kept by him at Walton Hall. In or about 1835 that hall was pulled down (subsequently it was rebuilt), and the articles forming the regalia passed into the keeping of Mr. R. Townley Parker, of Cuerden Hall, and they are still at that hall. The mother of Mr. Townley Parker, after being a widow for some time, married Sir H. P. Hoghton, Bart.: hence the deposit of the regalia at Cuerden Hall.

As to the records of the "Mock Corporation," they were taken charge of by Sir H. Bold-Hoghton, Bart., and they are now, I believe, at Hoghton Tower. After the Hoghton family left the Tower as a residence, it fell into decay; and as time went on the building got into a seriously dilapidated state. In 1858, when I paid my first visit to the Tower, it was in a very ruinous condition: walls had here and there given way; the roof of the spacious banqueting hall had fallen in to a considerable extent; the ceilings or roofs of some of the adjoining rooms were down; and with the exception of a portion on the south side, occupied by a farmer, the structure was quite deserted. And it remained in this bad or going-from-badto-worse state for some years. Sir Henry de Hoghton, the ninth baronet, who by Royal licence resumed the old family patronymic de Hoghton, in lieu of the bare surname Hoghton, took some steps for stopping the dilapidations which had for so long been going on at the Tower, and in 1876, the year in which he died, he commenced the restoration of the building. The work was continued by the next baronet, Sir Charles, who was the first to resume the de Hoghton occupation of the Tower (this occupation began in July, 1880), and who made it his home up to the time of his death in 1893. The restoration was completed in 1901, by his successor, Sir James de Hoghton, the eleventh baronet, who resides at the Tower.

Having received the foregoing information, the party proceeded to inspect the Tower, internally and externally, and they afterwards viewed the adjoining ornamental grounds, &c.

At the conclusion of the visit the party proceeded to Preston and inspected the Town Hall, and then visited the Harris Free Library and Museum, being received there by the chief librarian (Mr. Bramwell), who took them through the book departments, the art galleries, the museum, &c., imparting all the information essential to such an assemblage, and receiving at the close hearty thanks for his kindness.

Saturday, June 7th, 1902.

The members had a successful meeting at Leeds on this date. They first visited the ancient church of Adel, which proved a rich mine of antiquarian lore. Freeman, the historian, commends it as in some respects the finest specimen of Norman work in the north of England, while the taste and genius of Street have been invoked in some points of restoration. The Rev. W. H. Draper, M.A., rector of Adel, kindly showed the members round the church.

Leaving Adel the party drove across the country to Kirkstall, where Mr. Howdill, of Leeds, volunteered the part of guide. The various gates were all thrown open to the visitors, and the splendid ruins of the Cistercian monastery were thoroughly examined. Mr. Hand, of the Free Library of Leeds, invited the members to view the art gallery, and this being done the company returned to Manchester.

Monday, June 16th, 1902.

A party of the members visited Warrington, where they were met by Mr. Thomas May and Mr. Charles Madeley. They proceeded to Stockton Heath to inspect the recently discovered Roman remains, which are of a most interesting nature. The foundations of buildings of some kinds abutting on the Roman road had been laid bare by Mr. John Hallows in anticipation of

the visit, and the road itself could be seen in section. Fragments of Roman pottery previously found had been gathered together for presentation to individual members of the Society. A fine Roman quern, unearthed a few days before, was on view, as well as a beautiful Roman fibula previously found near the same spot. Here the members decided to do a little digging on their own account, and soon Mr. May and Mr. Hallows, with the assistance of some of the members, were busy with spade, mattock, and trowel. Some fragments of Roman pottery were discovered, including a fragment of Samian ware, but no new object of any greater importance. There was, however, plenty of evidence that the site had been used for industrial purposes involving the use of fire, apparently in the manufacture of pottery and glass. Stockton Heath, it may be stated, was close to Wilderspool, with which it was no doubt connected, but from which it is now separated by the Ship Canal.

After leaving the excavations the members returned to Warrington, and were conducted to the museum to inspect the recent "finds" deposited therein. These were ably described by Messrs. May and Madeley. Amongst them are beautiful specimens of Samian and other Roman pottery, window glass, glass beads, lamps, fibulæ, spindle whorls, tiles, coins, and many other most interesting relics of the Roman occupation.

The Honorary Secretary, in expressing his thanks to the leaders, said how pleased the members were to see with what care these local finds were preserved, and how proud Warrington should be to have a man like Mr. May to investigate these Roman sites.

Saturday, June 21st, 1902.

The members journeyed to Dove Holes, under the leadership of Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, in order to inspect certain prehistoric sites in that neighbourhood.

Before entering upon the programme of the day the party was led by Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., of Whaley Bridge, to a site not far distant described on the map as the Bull Ring. How it obtained that title is not known, but it is evidently, as Mr. Andrew pointed out, of prehistoric origin. It is Arbelow without the stones. Yard for yard the dimensions correspond with those of Arbelow. That there were originally stones may be taken for granted, but they are gone. Professor Dawkins said the place was wonderfully like Abury, which belonged, he had no doubt, to the same period as Arbelow. It was a place of great religious ceremonial. The rampart was outside the fosse. In that it differed absolutely from places of defence or habitation. In all probability, like Abury and Arbelow, it belonged to the Bronze Age.

Leaving the Bull Ring, the party retraced their steps, and crossing the railway ascended to a tumulus occupying an elevated position, and commanding a magnificent view extending to Mam Tor, Lose Hill, Kinder Scout, Whaley Moor, and the Bow Stones. This, said Professor Dawkins, was merely the base of a tumulus which had been dug out, he believed, by Bateman, the Derbyshire explorer. The interest which remains consists in the fact that it is not far from the line of road to be seen below leading from Dove Holes to the fortress to be next visited. The old prehistoric roads are bordered by these burial-places. Such roads are either ridgeways or, as here, along a slope. They were engineered to avoid the forests, and there was less tangle on the steep slopes than

on the hills themselves. In prehistoric times the low ground was morass, and the tops of the hills generally dense forest; hence the population was driven to live on the slopes between. But as these limestone districts were for the most part devoid of trees, they became, perforce, great centres of population.

Moving further, the party ascended still higher, and soon found themselves on the edge of a flat tableland, with, on their right, a precipitous descent. Here Professor Dawkins pointed out the prehistoric road below, by which access was obtained to the camp they were now approaching, and called attention to the masterly way in which the camp was protected, the road being commanded by a natural rampart. Arrived at the outside of the camp, which is known as Castle Naze, the party was reminded that it had before it the typical kind of defence in the Bronze Age and the prehistoric Iron Age. The ground was laid out on strictly military lines, with no "dead ground" to afford shelter for an attacking force. There was a deep fosse, cut down into the limestone, on the outside of the rampart, and another less deep within, flanked by a second rampart. Professor Dawkins said he did not think such a camp was intended to be occupied all the year round. The site was too bleak. It was a stronghold into which the inhabitants could take their families and cattle whenever there was a raid. better place than this for defence in those prehistoric days there could not be. In all probability the ramparts were crowned by palisades.

Leaving the camp, the company descended direct to Chapel-en-le-Frith, and paid a visit of inspection to the church.

Saturday, July 5th, 1902.

The Society paid a visit to the John Rylands Library, where they were received by Mr. H. Guppy, M.A., the librarian. Before exhibiting the treasures which had been laid out in the cases for inspection, Mr. Guppy delivered an address in the Conference Room dealing with many interesting points in relation to early printing in Germany by Gutenburg, Füst, and Schöffer, and later by Caxton in England.

Leading the company upstairs Mr. Guppy then described the contents of the various cases in their order, beginning with the manuscripts of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, comprising parts of Wycliffe's translation of the Bible, also Gospels, Psalters, Books of Hours, and the like. From these he passed on to books printed from blocks, with which was the celebrated woodcut of St. Christopher; and from these again to the earliest books printed from movable types, of which the library possesses the finest collection known to exist. English books of extreme rarity printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and ancient Bibles in various languages were next pointed out. The wealth of historic bindings, by the great craftsmen of various lands, came in their turn under review, with other works of a special character. From each group Mr. Guppy selected representative specimens, illustrating his points as he went along by many happy allusions to the life and work of the printers, binders, and patrons, thus adding a human interest to the works which they had been instrumental in producing, and which had so long survived them.

Mr. W. Harrison afterwards called attention to some selections from the cartological treasures of the library,

which Mr. Guppy had directed to be brought together for the purpose. First to be mentioned was Yates' Map of Lancashire, on a scale of one inch to the mile, engraved in eight sheets by Thomas Billinge in 1786. This was the first map of Lancashire produced from a scientific basis. William Green, the Lake artist, was in his younger days employed on this survey, and in his New Guide, published later in life, he mentions having "angled" from Warton Crag to all the surrounding country. On one of the sheets of the map is given a diagram showing the points from which the triangulations were made, and among these Warton Crag duly figures. This map is exceedingly rare. In the Transactions for 1896 Mr. Roeder says that he has searched in vain in Manchester and Liverpool for a copy. Happily the blank is now supplied at the Rylands Library. A similar map of Cheshire by Burdett in four sheets, and one of Derbyshire in three, are bound in another large volume. Indeed many of the counties are thus represented. The latter part of the eighteenth century witnessed great strides in the arts of surveying and map making. The map of Norfolk, produced in 1797, is a beautiful specimen of engraving, and has hill shading. Passing to earlier times, the 1676 edition of Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain was next shown, with the county maps it contained, practically the same as in the edition of 1610. But this was altogether outshone by the beautiful coloured volume of Saxton's Maps of England and Wales which bears the date 1579. In more general works there was only time to point out the best local charts, e.g., the Maps of the British Isles and England in the Theatrum Orbis Terrarum by Ortelius, published in 1573, the plan of Chester in Braun's work bearing the same title, the plan of Lancaster in the Civitates Orbis Terrarum, and the map of the British

Isles at the time of the Romans in the Geographia Vetus of 1684. But the most superb was the New Atlas by Sanson, published at Paris in 1692 under royal patronage. The title page is itself a work of pictorial art, and in the maps the artist, not satisfied with the effects of colour, has resorted to gilding. In the large map of the British Isles the touch of gold is reserved for the more important towns. The maps are accompanied by alphabetical indices to the places named, and by a tabular arrangement showing at a glance the territorial divisions and sub-divisions into provinces (Wessex, Mercia, and so on), counties, and towns.

The impression produced by a brief inspection of these productions of long-past generations was that in those times, despite the lack of many modern facilities, there were not wanting men willing to bestow infinite pains in the attempt to depict worthily the surface of the globe they inhabited.

Saturday, July 12th, 1902.

A party of the members visited Norbury under the leadership of Mr. George C. Yates, F.S.A. The party first called at Ashbourne, and proceeded to the fine old church, long known as "the Pride of the Peak." Consecrated in 1241 by the Bishop of Coventry, the church contains a splendid series of monuments of the Cockaynes, dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century; of the Bradburnes, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and other families; and amongst them is the beautiful effigy of the infant daughter of Sir Brooke Boothby, by Banks, R.A. After leaving the church a passing glance was given to the old grammar school, in which is preserved the original charter of Queen Elizabeth establishing

the school. Train was then taken to Norbury, where the party was met by the Rev. D. Adamson, the rector, Mr. Naylor, the architect, and a contingent of the Derbyshire Archæological Society. When all were seated in the fine old fourteenth-century chancel, Mr. Adamson gave an interesting history of his church, the beautiful monuments of the Fitz-Herbert family, and the old stained and painted glass which is its chief glory. Though its beauty and age have sometimes been exaggerated, there certainly are not six parish churches in the kingdom that have so fine and so extensive a display. Mr. Naylor then described the recent restorations in which he had been engaged.*

After leaving the church the party visited the old manor house, which contains some fine old stained glass, a collection of rare old engravings, and two pre-Norman cross shafts, which were found last year during some repairs to Norbury Church, built into the foundations of one of the buttresses of the north wall of the chancel. The larger of the two shafts is five feet three inches high, and the smaller three feet nine inches high. The style of the ornament resembles that on the crosses at Ilam, Checkley, and Alstonfield, in the same district. The party then proceeded to the rectory, where tea was kindly provided.

Monday, July 28th, 1902.

The members visited Harden Hall, under the leadership of Mr. Thomas Kay, of Stockport. The party proceeded to Stockport by rail, then by electric car to the Wrekin

^{*} A valuable paper on Norbury Church, by the Rev. J. Charles Cox, appears in the Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, xxv. 73-96, 1903. It is a revision of the same author's article in his Churches of Derbyshire, iii. 229-247.

Hotel, and afterwards by a pleasant walk to Harden Hall, the leader pointing out many places of interest and many charming views of the surrounding country *en route*. After viewing the ruined hall, Mr. Kay read a short paper on its history.

Saturday, August 16th, 1902.

The members proceeded to Barrow-in-Furness, and on arrival there were met by Mr. Harper Gaythorne, president of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club, who acted as leader. The party proceeded to the Town Hall, where it was received by the Mayor, and entertained to luncheon in the banqueting hall. Carriages were afterwards provided for a drive through the town and on to Furness Abbey. At the ruins the party was joined by members of the Barrow Field Club.

Saturday, September 20th, 1902.

A party of members, under the leadership of Mr. G. C. Yates, F.S.A., visited Haigh Hall, near Wigan, on the invitation of the Earl of Crawford, a former President of the Society.

The members were received at the hall by Mr. Peacock, in the absence of Mr. J. P. Edmond, librarian, who had laid out for inspection its principal treasures. These no longer comprise the Oriental and ancient European manuscripts which the members were shown on a previous visit to the hall, the gems of the collection now being the early printed books. One manuscript, however, there is of great interest, that of the well-known song, "Auld Robin Gray," written by a lady of the house of Lindsay. Another contains the round robin to Dr.

Johnson asking him to write the epitaph on Goldsmith in English instead of Latin. The printed works include—besides many rarities of much earlier date—the first and second folios of Shakspere, the first edition of Milton's poems, and the Essays of a Prentice. Some fine examples of old French, Florentine, Spanish, and English bindings were shown. The library contains special collections of papal indulgences, royal proclamations—of which one specimen of each reign from Elizabeth to George III. was laid out for inspection—and English and foreign pamphlets and other tracts. Several specimens of the hornbooks by means of which our ancestors gained an elementary knowledge of letters were also shown.

The members spent some time in inspecting these treasures, and on leaving the hall the President (the Rev. E. F. Letts, M.A.) expressed their thanks for the opportunity which had been afforded them.

Friday, October 10th, 1902.

At the opening meeting of the Society, held in Chetham's Hospital, Mr. A. Nicholson in the chair, an interesting presentation was made to the library by the family of the late Mr. Shadrach Jackson. This was the writ of Privy Seal granting to the abbot and convent of Whalley permission to fortify their buildings. It was described by the late Mr. J. E. Bailey in volume iii., page 230, of the Society's *Transactions*.

Mr. W. T. Browne, the house governor, on behalf of the feoffees of Chetham's Hospital, thanked the family of the late Mr. Jackson for this valuable gift.

Mr. W. E. A. Axon read a note on a hornbook preserved in the Salford Royal Museum. (See page 105.)

An interesting conversation followed, in which Messrs.

S. Andrew, Alfred Schumacher, Albert Nicholson, and others took part. Mr. W. S. Churchill called attention to the metal counters, with alphabets, formerly issued in great numbers from Nuremburg (see page 117), two specimens of which were exhibited by the Honorary Secretary.

Mr. H. T. Crofton's paper on "How Chat Moss broke out in 1526," was, in his absence, read by Mr. William Harrison. (See page 139.)

Friday, November 14th, 1902.

The monthly meeting was held in the library of Chetham's Hospital.

The Rev. E. F. Letts (President), who was in the chair, reviewed the history of the Society, which, he said, was founded in March, 1883. This session, therefore, would bring them to their twentieth birthday. Having been a member from the first, he would like to make a slight retrospect of their labours, and to indicate the range of work still to be accomplished. First they ought to congratulate themselves on the fact that their learned first President, Dr. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., was still with them, and was yet a hearty and vigorous young man. No less evergreen was their original Secretary and founder, Mr. George C. Yates, F.S.A., whose constant labours and fostering care have been so beneficial to the Society. Five out of the ten original members of the Council were still in the flesh. The Society in the first year numbered over two hundred; it now maintained an average of three hundred and fifty members. The annual volumes, so beautifully illustrated, would bear comparison with those of any other county societies. It was to be greatly regretted

that up to the present time no antiquarian museum had been established in the city, for many most valuable local relics had passed out of the district. The Corporation had several suitable places where such a museum could be housed—the mansion in Heaton Park, another goodsized house in Brookdale Park, Newton Heath, and Clayton Hall. Could not something be done to begin a collection? If a suitable home could be found, contributions would soon pour in. Then Hanging Bridge should be preserved while there was yet time. With respect to heraldry, there was no county, with the exception, perhaps, of Devonshire, more prolific in that subject than Lancashire and Cheshire. Letts referred to the many good men who had been lost to the Society during the last few years, amongst them being John P. Earwaker, John Eglington Bailey, J. Holme Nicholson, W. Thompson Watkin, Thomas Letherbrow, John Owen, James Croston, Robert Langton, Edward Kirk, Richard Copley Christie, Sir William Cunliffe Brooks, General Pitt Rivers, Archdeacon Anson, and Thomas G. Rylands, F.S.A. After the address

An interesting conversation followed, in which Messrs. W. E. A. Axon and C. W. Sutton, the Rev. Augustus Pugh, and Mr. Albert Nicholson took part.

Mr. Robert Falkner read a paper on the inscribed foundation plate of the spire of St. Mary's Church, formerly in the Parsonage, Manchester. He said that to the interesting notices on this church given in the *Transactions* of the Society of June 5th, 1890, might now be added the record of a few facts that have supervened since the demolition of the edifice in 1891-2. The plate, framed in oak taken from the front of the galleries of the church, was placed on the table for the inspection of the members. The metal plate, which is of solid block

tin, was originally placed at the south-east corner of the head of the tower. With the approval of the Dean of Manchester and the rector and warden of St. Ann's, it will be affixed in the baptistry in the tower of that church.

Messrs. Fletcher Moss, W. Harrison, C. W. Sutton, W. E. A. Axon, and A. Nicholson, and the Chairman took part in a discussion after the paper.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman read some notes territorial and genealogical on several seventeenth century Flixton deeds, and presented these deeds to the Society.

Friday, December 12th, 1902.

At the monthly meeting held in Chetham's Hospital, Mr. W. E. A. Axon presiding,

Mr. William Harrison read a paper on the "Ancient Forests and Deer Parks in Cheshire." (See page 1.)

A discussion followed, in which Messrs. Sandbach, Fishwick, Nicholson, J. D. Andrew, Churchill, and the Chairman took part.

Mr. Edward Aitken exhibited a Lima half-guinea of George II., dated 1745.

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited a curious collection of Nuremburg tokens and jettons.

Mr. Samuel Andrew, of Oldham, read a paper on "Musical Renascence in Manchester during the latter portion of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries." He explained that by Manchester he meant greater Manchester, including the surrounding districts, of which Manchester is the centre. By renascence he meant the revival of musical art after the débâcle caused by the great rebellion. During the time

of Warden Heyrick, musical effort in Manchester was entirely extinct. The organ in the Old Church had been allowed to go to decay, and it was to Heyrick's successor, Warden Stratford, that we had to look for its revival. He restored the musical services in the cathedral, reappointed the singing men and boys, and during the last vear of office, 1684, a new organ was built in the collegiate church by Father Schmidt. It was in connection with this organ that we found the first trace of a popular revival of music in this district, one Abraham Hurst, a teacher of music from Oldham, bringing some of his pupils, of whom he had sixty in all, to sing to this organ in the year 1696. In 1701 we had further evidence of the renascence. Bishop Stratford, then of Chester and formerly Warden of Manchester, held a visitation at Manchester, and gave permission to Elias Hall, an Oldham man, a former pupil of Abraham Hurst, to teach music in the diocese wherever he liked. established musical classes at Manchester, Prestwich, Blackley, Ashton-under-Lyne, and other places. A school for music in Oldham had then been in existence six years. and the bishop would have issued a licence, had such a thing been usual, for Elias Hall to form schools for music at the various churches over which the bishop had control. In 1708 Elias Hall published his Psalm-singer's Compleat Companion. The introduction is dated Oldham, August 1st, 1707. After this there was a general movement in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire.

In many of the towns around Manchester Elias Hall had established a system of reading music known as the Old Lancashire Notation, and this system was taught the youth of that period of both sexes at churches and chapels, and also in the homes and workshops of the people. The result of this teaching was found after many days, though

the history of most of these musical classes was buried in oblivion. The Oldham society was broken up in 1716. Scarcely anything is known of the other musical schools of that period. But when Handel's oratorios came to be known to the musical world in these parts, they met with a ready interpretation from those who could read music at sight. After this musical societies were formed in various parts of this country, and Handel's anthems and oratorios were produced in nearly all the local centres around Manchester. The history of local musical societies in this district, concluded Mr. Andrew, would form a book in itself.

Friday, January 9th, 1903.

The meeting was held in Chetham's Library, Mr. William E. A. Axon presiding.

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited and described a series of tokens relating to the period of the French Revolution and the political and social agitation in England towards the close of the eighteenth century. One of the tokens bears the name of Thomas Spence, a well-known Jacobin of that period. On the other side appears a pig trampling on a crown and a crozier, with the inscription, "Pigs-meat. Published by T. Spence, London." Another has the bust of D. J. Eaton, with inscription, "Three times acquitted of sedition." On the other side are three pigs in a sty with a cock crowing over them. This is an allusion to the Radicals of the time and Edmund Burke's description of the "swinish multitude." One of the tokens was a skit on Tom Paine's Rights of Man. On one side of the coin is the figure of a man hanging from a gibbet, and underneath the legend, "The end of pain." On the other side is an open book with the inscription, "The wrongs of man."

Lieutenant-Colonel Fishwick, F.S.A., read a paper on "Ashworth Chapel," in the parish of Middleton. (See page 29.)

Mr. John Cowley afterwards read a paper on "Steetley Norman Chapel," which is situated in the extreme northeast corner of the county of Derby, and within a few minutes' walk of the adjoining counties of York and Notts.

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited a curious carved wooden stay-busk, dated 1791, with the initials "I. P. P. C. w. w." The decoration consists of hearts, circles, and lozenges, outlined with a chevron pattern. Stay-busks form a class of objects which were made by lovers for their sweethearts, hence the initials, dates, and hearts introduced into the decoration.

Monday, January 19th, 1903.

A largely attended special meeting of the members was held at the Whitworth Institute. (See page 213.)





APPENDIX I.

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APPENDIX II.

SUBJECT INDEX TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY.

CONTRACTIONS: C. N. and Q., Cheshire Notes and Queries; M.C. N., Manchester City News.

Agecroft Hall Agecroft Alderley Edge Roeder Allostock chapel Evans Amounderness hundred, churches and chapels, inventories 1552 Chetham Soc. n.s. 47 Arley Hall Moss, Triggs Barker (Philip) Evans Bennet (Charles) Chetham Soc. n.s. Biography, Lancashire Cheshire, Bibliography Hollins Blackstone Edge Roman Road Roman Road Boggart Hole Clough Ray Bolton Bateson Booth Charities Booth Bridgewater Trust and Worsley Worsley Brooks (Rev. Joshua) C. N. and Q. Broughton church bells Gaythorpe Brown (Henry) Shaw Bury description 1829 Butterworth Cadeley charities Endowed Cheshire Antiquities and Biography, Bibliography Hollins, Freeholders 1578 Record Sec. 43, Joshua Wedgewood's connection with C. N. and Q., References chancery and exchequer List, Some Cheshire deeds Burke Cathedral Ditchfield, Chester

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Prestwich annals Middleton, M. C. N.

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Warton Bateson

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Wedgewood (Josiah) Connection with Cheshire C. N. and Q.

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Wheelock Byegone C. N. and Q.

Wilderspool Romano-British Civitas May

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Woodchurch parish notes Irvine Woodland church bells Gaythorpe







REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.





REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE twentieth year of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society has been one of steady work. The meetings have been well attended both in winter and summer.

Members.—During the year ten new members have joined, whilst ten have been lost by death, resignation, and other causes. The number now on the rolls are—

Ordinary Members		 • • •	• • •	295
Life Members	• • •	 		43
Honorary Members	• • •	 • • •	• • •	4
				342

WINTER MEETINGS.—The monthly meetings, during the periods January-April and October-December inclusive, have been held at the Chetham Hospital, and the large attendance at these meetings shows the appreciation of them by the members. The titles of the papers and short communications are given in the following list:—

1902.

Jan. 31.—Annual Meeting.

Feb. 14.—The Old Stained-glass Windows in Ashton Parish Church. Rev. George A. Pugh, M.A.

" 14.—On Engraved Cheshire Portraits. Mr. A. Nicholson.

Mar. 14.—On Old Lancashire and North Country Culinary History.

Mr. Charles Roeder.

April 11.—The Ancient Crosses of Lancashire (the Hundred of Amounderness). Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A.

Oct. 10.—On a Hornbook in the Salford Museum, &c. Mr. William E. A. Axon, L.L.D.

Oct. 10.—How Chat Moss brake out in 1526. Mr. H. T. Crofton.

Nov. 14.—President's Address.

" 14.—The Inscribed Foundation Plate of the Spire of St. Mary's Church, Manchester. Mr. Robert Falkner.

,, 14.—Notes Territorial and Genealogical on some Seventeenth Century Flixton Deeds. Mr. C. T. Tallent Bateman.

Dec. 12.—Ancient Forests and Deer Parks in Cheshire. Mr. William Harrison.

,, 12.—Musical Renascence in Manchester in the later Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries. Mr. Samuel Andrew.

1903.

Jan. 9.—Ashworth Chapel. Lieut.-Col. Fishwick, F.S.A.

, 9.—Steetley Norman Chapel. Mr. John Cowley.

" 31.—On Two Semi-castellated Manor Houses formerly existing in Macclesfield, with corresponding Chapters of Cheshire History. Dr. F. Renaud, F.S.A.

The Summer Meetings were held as follows:—

1902

May 3.—Visit to Whitworth Hall and the Christie Library, Owens College, to inspect the recently added Christie Collection of Books.

" 12.—Kersal Cell.

,, 31.—Hoghton Tower and the Harris Library and Museum, Preston.

June 7.—Adel Church and Kirkstall Abbey.

,, 16.—The Roman Excavations at Wilderspool and Stockton Heath.

,, 21.—The Prehistoric Fort and Barrows near Doveholes, and the "Bull Ring."

July 12.—Norbury Church and Ancient Manor House.

, 28.—Harden Hall.

Aug. 16.-Furness Abbey and Barrow-in-Furness.

Sept. 20.—Haigh Hall.

On January 19th a special meeting was held in the Whitworth Institute, Whitworth Park, by the kind permission of the Governors of the Institute. The members were welcomed by Mr. R. D. Darbishire, F.S.A. (the surviving Whitworth legatee), and by Dr. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S. An exceedingly interesting collection of archæological objects was exhibited.

Obituary.—The Society has to regret the death of the following members:—

Thomas Hardcastle, J.P., of Bradshaw Hall, Bolton, and Blaston Hall, Leicestershire, died in September, 1902, aged

sixty-six. He had been a member of the Society since 1892, and on two occasions hospitably received his fellow-members at his ancient and picturesque Lancashire seat. In the public life of Bolton—social, religious, and philanthropic—he had long taken an active interest. He was head of the firm of T. Hardcastle & Co., bleachers and printers. He married in 1865 Miss E. Purdon, daughter of the rector of Seaton, who, with two sons and two daughters, all married, survive him.

Edward Daniel Scott, of Manchester, and Disley, Cheshire, died on 25th July, 1902, aged forty-five, near Elandsfontein, South Africa, the result of an accident on the railway. He had been in South Africa as a newspaper correspondent since the early part of the war, and was on his way home when he met with this accident. On leaving school he went into business in Manchester, but had made numerous expeditions abroad, visiting Morocco, Egypt, Spain, and Central Africa, where he obtained many interesting and curious objects of antiquity. These, with some arms, &c., that he brought from Egypt, were exhibited at a soirée of the Antiquarian Society held in the Concert Hall. A small volume by him, entitled Some Letters from South Africa, 1894–1902, with an introductory memoir of the author, was published in 1903.

Shadrach Jackson died at his residence, Calder Vale, Garstang, on September 10th, 1902, aged eighty. Born at Bristol, and beginning his business career in Essex, he migrated many years ago to Lancashire, and in his adopted town of Bolton took a wide interest in many objects—social, political, philanthropic, as well as antiquarian. He became a member of the Society two months after its foundation in 1883. He then resided at Bolton, where he was known among his friends as a collector of old coins and other select antiquarian objects. On retiring to Garstang he occupied himself in tracing out the lines of neighbouring Roman roads and in investigating relics of remote antiquity. His researches culminated in his remarkable discovery at Bleasdale of the prehistoric sepulchral remains of the Bronze Age that were described by Dr.

Boyd Dawkins in last year's *Transactions*. For that discovery he will be long remembered; he will be remembered also by all who came into contact with him as a charming companion, a modest, high-principled, and loveable man.

The Rev. Thomas Boston Johnstone, D.D., died at Blackpool on 3rd February, 1902, as the result of a paralytic seizure, at the age of fifty-eight. He was pastor of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church of England, Bolton, and had been Moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly, and President of the Bolton Sunday School Union, &c. He was a writer on biblical subjects and on ecclesiastical history. Among the latter are his Religious History of Bolton, 1887, and an interesting paper on "The Bolton Lecture and Lecturers," 1892. He joined the Society in 1887, and was a frequent attendant at its meetings.

Henry Sykes, who died on 11th August, 1902, aged fifty-seven, was for more than twenty years writing master at the Manchester Grammar School. He had only been a short time a member of the Society.

John Harper, of Didsbury, joined the Society on 2nd November, 1888, and died on 21st January, 1903, aged sixty-one. He was a native of Greenock, but as a young man came to Manchester, to a position at Messrs. Tootal Broadhurst and Company, with whom he remained until his death. He was a lover of literature, and had gathered together a library of three thousand volumes.

On the occasion of the Jubilee of the Owens College the Society was by invitation represented by its President, and an address of congratulation was presented, of which the following is a copy:—

OWENS COLLEGE JUBILEE.

The Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society offers its cordial and sincere congratulations to the Owens College on the completion of the first fifty years of the College's remarkable and brilliant history. The Society recognises the great services of the College in the diffusion of culture in Lancashire and Cheshire, and, indeed, throughout the

country, and rejoices at the eminent position which it has attained. With regard to the subjects in which the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society is particularly interested, it is a great pleasure to reflect upon the large collection of archæological treasures which the Owens College has in its museum, and to know that history and archæology have always had their places in the College studies. The Society may also point with pride to the fact that its own rolls contain the names of several distinguished members of the College staff, whose learned contributions have from time to time adorned the pages of the Society's Transactions. The congratulations are sent in the cordial hope that Owens College will long continue its great work with unabated vigour, to the further renown of Manchester and to the benefit of generations to come.

Signed on behalf of the Society,

ERNEST F. LETTS, President. GEO. C. YATES, Hon. Secretary.

Manchester, March, 1902.

At the celebration of the Jubilee the honorary degree of M.A. of the Victoria University was conferred on Messrs. Henry Guppy (John Rylands Library), George Milner, J.P., and Charles W. Sutton (Chief Librarian, Manchester), all members of the Society.

The Council have the pleasing duty of recording their warm acknowledgments to the Feoffees of Chetham's Hospital and Library for the continued permission to hold the meetings of the Society in the building, which is now almost the only relic left of mediæval Manchester, and to Mr. W. T. Browne, the House Governor. Their best thanks are also due to Mr. R. D. Darbishire, F.S.A., and the Governors of the Whitworth Institute, on the occasion of the recent special meeting in the institute; to the Rev. D. Adamson, M.A., rector of Norbury; and to the Rev. W. H. Draper, M.A., rector of Adel, for their kindness and hospitality when the Society visited those places; and to Dr. Alfred Hopkinson, the Principal of the Owens College, for the courtesy by which the Society was enabled to inspect the Christie Library, the noble bequest to Manchester of a former member of this Society. The Council have also to express their deep obligations to Mr. C. W. Sutton, M.A. (who has for so many years edited our Transactions), to the Treasurer, Auditors, and to the

Honorary Secretary. Few societies have been so fortunate as to secure for twenty years the unwearying services of a secretary so efficient and so genial as Mr. Yates.

The many important papers contained in the publications of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society are a sufficient justification of its existence, and the material still awaiting examination is so large that more members are needed. To all who are interested in the presentation of the memorials of the past, and in the right understanding of the changes witnessed in these districts from the prehistoric to the modern period, the Council of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society appeal for active co-operation.

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Revised January, 1897.

- 1. PREAMBLE.—This Society is instituted to examine, preserve, and illustrate ancient Monuments and Records, and to promote the study of History, Literature, Arts, Customs, and Traditions, with particular reference to the antiquities of Lancashire and Cheshire.
- 2. Name, &c.—This Society shall be called the "Lanca-shire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society."
- 3. Election of Members.—Candidates for admission to the Society must be proposed by one member of the Society, and seconded by another. Applications for admission must be submitted in writing to the Council, who shall, as soon as possible after the receipt of the application, determine the election or otherwise of the candidate. member shall have his election notified to him by the Honorary Secretary, and shall at the same time be furnished with a copy of the Rules, and be required to remit to the Treasurer, within two months after such notification, his entrance fee and subscription; and if the same shall be thereafter unpaid for more than two months, his name may be struck off the list of members unless he can justify the delay to the satisfaction of the Council. No new member shall participate in any of the advantages of the Society until he has paid his entrance fee and subscription.

Each member shall be entitled to admission to all meetings of the Society, and to introduce a visitor, provided that the same person be not introduced to two ordinary or general meetings in the same year. Each member shall receive, free of charge, such ordinary publications of the Society as shall have been issued since the commencement of the year in which he shall have been elected, provided that he shall have paid all subscriptions then due from him. The Council shall have power to remove any name from the list of members on due cause being shown to them. Members wishing to resign at the termination of the year can do so by informing the Honorary Secretary, in writing, of their intention, on or before the 30th November, in that year.

- 4. Honorary Members.—The Council shall have the power of recommending persons for election as honorary members.
- 5. Honorary Local Secretaries.—The Council shall have power to appoint any person Honorary Local Secretary, whether he be a member or not, for the town or district wherein he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest.
- 6. Subscriptions.—An annual subscription of ten shillings and sixpence shall be paid by each member. All such subscriptions shall be due in advance on the first day of January.
- 7. Entrance Fee.—Each person on election shall pay an entrance fee of half a guinea in addition to his first year's subscription.
- 8. Life Membership.—A payment of seven guineas shall constitute the composition for life membership, including the entrance fee.
- 9. GOVERNMENT.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of the President of the

Society, not more than six Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, and fifteen members elected out of the general body of the members. The Council shall retire annually, but the members of it shall be eligible for re-election. Any intermediate vacancy by death or retirement may be filled up by the Council. Four members of the Council to constitute a quorum. The Council shall meet at least four times yearly. A meeting may at any time be convened by the Honorary Secretary by direction of the President, or on the requisition of four members of the Council. Two Auditors shall be appointed by the members at the ordinary meeting next preceding the final meeting of the Session.

- The Honorary Secretary shall send out notices convening the annual meeting, and with such notices enclose blank nomination papers of members to fill the vacancies in the Council and Officers, other than the Auditor. The said notice and nomination paper to be sent to each member twenty-one days prior to the annual meeting. The nomination paper shall be returned to the Secretary not less than seven days before the annual meeting, such paper being signed by the proposer and seconder. Should such nominations not be sufficient to fill the several offices becoming vacant, the Council shall nominate members to supply the remaining vacancies. A complete list shall be printed, and in case of a contest such list shall be used as a ballot paper.
- II. Sectional Committees.—The Council may from time to time appoint Sectional Committees, consisting of members of their own body and of such other members of the Society as they may think can, from their special knowledge, afford aid in such branches of archæology as the following: I. Prehistoric Remains. 2. British and Roman Antiquities. 3. Mediæval, Architectural, and other Remains. 4. Ancient Manners and Customs, Folk-Lore, History of Local Trades and Commerce. 5. Records,

Deeds, and other MSS. 6. Numismatics. 7. Genealogy, Family History, and Heraldry. 8. Local Bibliography and Authorship.

- 12. Duties of Officers.—The duty of the President shall be to preside at the meetings of the Society, and to maintain order. His decision in all questions of precedence among speakers, and on all disputes which may arise during the meeting, to be absolute. In the absence of the President or Vice-Presidents it shall be competent for the members present to elect a chairman. The Treasurer shall take charge of all moneys belonging to the Society, pay all accounts passed by the Council, and submit his accounts and books, duly audited, to the annual meeting, the same having been submitted to the meeting of the Council immediately preceding such annual meeting. The duties of the Honorary Secretary shall be to attend all meetings of the Council and Society, enter in detail, as far as practicable, the proceedings at each meeting, conduct the correspondence, preserve all letters received, and convene all meetings by circular if requisite. He shall also prepare and present to the Council a Report of the year's work, and, after confirmation by the Council, shall read the same to the members at the annual meeting.
- 13. Annual Meeting.—The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in the last week of January.
- 14. ORDINARY MEETINGS.—Ordinary meetings shall be held in Manchester at 6-15 p.m., on the second Friday of each month, from October to April, or at such other times as the Council may appoint, for the reading of papers, the exhibition of objects of antiquity, and the discussion of subjects connected therewith.
- 15. General Meetings.—The Council may, from time to time, convene general meetings at different places rendered interesting by their antiquities, architecture, or historic

associations. The work of these meetings shall include papers, addresses, exhibitions, excavations, and any other practicable means shall be adopted for the elucidation of the history and antiquities of the locality visited.

- 16. Exploration and Excavation.—The Council may, from time to time, make grants of money towards the cost of excavating and exploring, and for the general objects of the Society.
- 17. Publications.—Original papers and ancient documents communicated to the Society may be published in such manner as the Council shall from time to time determine. Back numbers of the *Transactions* and other publications of the Society remaining in stock may be purchased by any member of the Society at such prices as the Council shall determine.
- 18. PROPERTY.—The property of the Society shall be vested in the names of three Trustees to be chosen by the Council.
- 19. Interpretation Clause.—In these Rules the masculine shall include the feminine gender.
- 20. ALTERATION OF RULES.—These Rules shall not be altered except by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting at the annual or at a special meeting convened for that purpose. Fourteen days' notice of such intended alteration is to be given to every member of the Society.





LIST OF MEMBERS.

The * denotes a Life Member.
The † denotes an Honorary Member

Date of Election. November 3rd, 1899 Abbott, James Henry, Heaton Mersey December 7th, 1888 Abraham, Miss E. C., Grassendale Park, near Liverpool September 4th, 1883 Adshead, G. H., Fern Villas, Pendleton September 26th, 1902 Ainscough, Jas., J.P., Crawford House, Wigan April 7th, 1899 Alderson, Rev. H. E., St. John's Rectory, Cheetham November 3th, 1882 Allen, Rev. George, M.A., Shaw, Oldham January 9th, 1903 Allott, Chas. Wm., 519, Stretford Road, Old Trafford March 8th, 1901 Allott, Henry Newmarch, 83, Cromwell Road,

Eccles

January 9th, 1903

June 11th, 1886

July 25th, 1885

September 4th, 1883

January 9th, 1903

October 8th, 1886

August 12th, 1901

December 4th, 1885

November 5th, 1886

September 4th, 1883

October 12th, 1888

March 21st, 1883

Stretford
Allwood, T. Massey, The Hollies, Orrell Village,
Liverpool

Andrew, J. D., Lyme View, Davenport, Stockport Andrew, James, Lynwood, Westminster Road,

Andrew, Samuel, St. John's Terrace, Hey Lees, Oldham

Armstrong, Frank, 88, Deansgate, Manchester Arning, C. H., West View, Victoria Park Ashton, Thos., Savings Bank, Ashton-under-Lyne Ashworth, Joseph, Albion Place, Walmersley Road, Bury

Attkins, Edgar, 69, Burton Road, Withington
*Avebury, Lord, F.S.A., 15, Lombard Street,
London

Axon, Ernest, Free Reference Library, Manchester Axon, W. E. A., LL.D., M.R.S.L., 6, Cecil Street, Greenheys, Manchester

October 10th, 1890

*Bailey, Sir W. H., Sale Hall, Cheshire March 21st, 1883 Barber, Robert, Winnats Knoll, Prestwich February 7th, 1890 January 11th, 1884 Barlow, John Robert, Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton Barlow, Miss Annie E. F., Greenthorne, Bolton June 13th, 1885 Barraclough, Thomas, C.E., 20, Bucklersbury, March 21st, 1883 London August 11th, 1900 Barrow-in-Furness Free Library March 21st, 1883 Bateman, C. T. Tallent-, Cromwell Road, Stretford January 7th, 1887 *Bayley, Rev. C. J., M.A., Sweden Bank, Ambleside July 30th, 1885 Bayley, Charles W., Prestwich August 11th, 1900 Bayley, William, Claybrow, Lymm September 22nd, 1899 Beardwell, Arthur, 46, Slade Grove, Rusholme Beaumont, James W., Fulshaw, Wilmslow December 1st, 1893 Behrens, Harold L., West View, Victoria Park, March 2nd, 1900 Manchester December 7th, 1883 Berry, James, Mayfield, Grimsargh, Preston Bickersteth, Robert, 70, Cromwell Road, London, April 12th, 1901 S.W. November 3rd, 1899 Birkenhead Public Library January 19th, 1900 Bleackley, Frederick Brewer, Bower's Croft, Wilmslow January 11th, 1900 Bloxsom, M., Hazelwood, Crumpsall Green, Manchester Boddington, Rev. E., M.A., Swinton December 14th, 1900 April 7th, 1899 Bolton Public Library Booth, James, 153, High Street, Oxford Road July 31st, 1886 Bowden, Daniel, The Grove, Oldfield Road, March 7th, 1890 Altrincham September 4th, 1883 Bowden, William, Gorsefield, Patricroft January 14th, 1898 Bowman, Dr. George, Monifieth, Old Trafford September 24th, 1897 Bradbury, John H., 6, Bowker's Road, Bolton April 7th, 1899 Bradford Free Library April 12th, 1901 Briercliff, Thomas Hy., Ivy Dene, Haulgh, Bolton November 5th, 1897 Brierley, Henry, B.A., Mab's Cross, Wigan November 5th, 1886 Brimelow, William, Carlyle House, Bolton May 7th, 1885 *Brockholes, W. Fitzherbert, J.P., Claughton Hall, Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang Brocklebank, F. W., 2, Fold Street, Bolton February 5th, 1897 November 1st, 1895 Bromwich, F. A., 587, Stretford Road October 7th, 1887 Brooke, Alexander, 34, Craven Hill Gardens, Bayswater, London, W. September 28th, 1883. Brooke, John, A.R.I.B.A., 18, Exchange Street, Manchester Brooks, S. H., Slade House, Levenshulme April 7th, 1899 July 14th, 1899 Brown, Joseph, J.P., Lancaster House, Upper Dicconson Street, Wigan

Browne, Walter T., Chetham Hospital, Man-

chester

January 9th, 1903 September 26th, 1899 June 18th, 1890 December 2nd, 1887 March 3rd, 1899	Bryers Rev. J. T., M.A., Rossall School, Fleetwood Burgess, John, Shaftsbury House, Cheadle Hulme Burgess, Mrs., Shaftsbury House, Cheadle Hulme *Butcher, S. F., Bury Butterworth, Walter, Lea Hurst, Bowdon
March 13th, 1903	Canning, Wm., 34, John Dalton Street, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	Carington, H. H. Smith, Grange Thorpe, Rusholme, Manchester
April 7th, 1899	Carlisle Public Library
October 8th, 1886	*Chesson, Rev. Wm. H., Alnwick, Northumberland
April 6th, 1900	Chorley Free Library
January 23rd, 1893	Chorlton, Jno. Clayton, The Priory, Didsbury
March 21st, 1883	Churchill, W. S., 102, Birch Lane, Manchester
June 11th, 1886	Clarke, Dr. W. H., Park Green, Macclesfield
March 2nd, 1894	Claye, Herbert S., 259, Park Lane, Macclesfield
May 8th, 1896	Clayton, Robert H., B.Sc., 37, George Street, Cheetham Hill
February 7th, 1896	Collier, Rev. E. C., M.A., Holy Trinity Vicarage, Dinting
December 3rd, 1886	*Collier, Edward, Glen Esk, Carlton Road, Whalley Range
January 11th, 1884	Collman, Charles, Elmhurst, Ellesmere Park, Eccles
January 11th, 1895	Columbia Institute, New York
March 21st, 1883	Copinger, W. A, LL.D., F.S.A., Kersal Cell
November 7th, 1884	Cowell, P., Free Library, Liverpool
January 7th, 1887	Cox, George F., Albert Street, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	†Crawford, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., Haigh Hall, Wigan
March 21st, 1883	Creeke, Major A. B., Westwood, Burnley
March 21st, 1883	Crofton, H. T., Oldfield, Maidenhead
October 8th, 1886	*Crompton, Rev. Alfred, M.A., 15, St. Marie's Gate, Bury
October 10th, 1890	Cunliffe, William, Oak Lea, Albert Road, Heaton, Bolton
October 7th, 1887	Curnick, H. D., West Lind, Woodville Road, Bowdon
March 21st, 1883	Darbishire, R. D., B.A., F.S.A., Victoria Park, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	Darbyshire, Alfred, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., Brazenose Street, Manchester
September 28th, 1883	*Dauntesey, Robert, Agecroft Hall, Manchester
March 2nd, 1900	Davies, Samuel, M.A., 5, Alveney House, Frodsham
March 21st, 1883	Dawkins, Professor William Boyd, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A., Fallowfield House, Fallowfield

Manch and 1992	Dauling Mrs. Followfold House Fellowfold
March 21st, 1883 April 1st, 1887 September 26th, 1889	Dawkins, Mrs., Fallowfield House, Fallowfield De Trafford, Sir Humphrey F., Bart., Manchester Dean, John, 31, Market Place, Middleton
November 2nd, 1883	Dearden, J. Griffith, Walcot Hall, Stamford
September 14th, 1897	*Derby, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Knowsley
March 21st, 1883	*Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London
April 17th, 1903 October 8th, 1898	Dickson, E. H. L., 44, Bolton Road, Pendleton Dodd, John, Werneth Road, Oldham
January 15th, 1886	Duncan, James, M.B., 24, Richmond Street, Ashton-under-Lyne
November 3rd, 1893	Edelston, John A., Norton Lodge, Halton, Cheshire
April 12th, 1901	Edwards, Francis, Norley Grange, 73, Leyland Road, Southport
March 21st, 1883	*Egerton, Right Hon. the Earl, F.S.A., Tatton Park, Knutsford
September 22nd, 1899	Elton, Thomas, Edenfield, near Bury
June 11th, 1886	*Ermen, Henry E., Rose Bank, Bolton Road, Pendleton
March 21st, 1883	Esdaile, George, C.E., The Old Rectory, Platt Lane, Rusholme
March 21st, 1883	*Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead
December 14th, 1900	Evans, L. C., Town Clerk, Salford; Riverslea, Palatine Road, Didsbury
May 4th, 1883	Faithwaite, J. R., Manchester and Salford Bank, Mosley Street
January 29th, 1885	Farrer, William, Thornburgh House, Leyburn, R.S.O.
October 11th, 1896	*Fernhead, Joseph, 15, Park Street, Bolton
January 13th, 1899	Finlayson, John, 4, Woodlands, Daisy Bank Road, Longsight
March 21st, 1883	Fishwick, LieutCol. Henry, F.S.A., The Heights, Rochdale
November 5th, 1897	Fleming, James, Westville, Malvern Grove, Withington
July 4th, 1899	Flint, Henry, Park View, Wigan
July 19th, 1898	Folkard, H. T., F.S.A., Free Public Library, Wigan
July 31st, 1886	Freeman, R. Knill, East View, Haulgh, Bolton
February 6th, 1885	French, Colonel Gilbert J., Thornydikes, Bolton
June 13th, 1885	French, Mrs., Thornydikes, Bolton
December 9th, 1886	*Frost, Robert, B.Sc., 53, Victoria Road, Kensington, W.

May 4th, 1883	Gadd, Right Rev. Monsignor, Barton, near Man- chester
March 6th, 1896	Gandy, Barton, 124, Cecil Street, Moss Side
March 21st, 1883	Gill, Richard, 12, Tib Lane, Cross Street, Manchester
December 2nd, 1887	Gillibrand, W., M.R.C.S., Parkfield House, Chorley Road, Bolton
May 4th, 1883 March 4th, 1898 May 7th, 1885	Goodyear, Charles, 39, Lincroft Street, Moss Side Gradisky, C. J. Holt, 5, School Road, Didsbury Gradwell, Very Rev. Monsignor, Claughton-on-
January, 1903	Brock, Garstang Graves, F. S., Ballamona, Trafford Road, Alderley Edge
April 17th, 1903 September 18th, 1885 November 9th, 1900 June 11th, 1886	Green, Samuel, Park View, Leeds Road, Mossley Greenhough, Richard, Church Street, Leigh Guppy, Henry, M.A., Parsonage Road, Withington Güterbock, Alfred, Newington, Bowdon
March 21st, 1883	Hadfield, E., Barr Hill, Pendleton
December 14th, 1900	Hague, J. Houghton, Oldham
March 14th, 1902	Hailwood, James, Shakspere Cottage, Higher Ardwick
November 7th, 1884	Hall, Jame, Edale, Broad Road, Sale
October 10th, 1890	Hall, Oscar S., Park Cottage, Bury
January 25th, 1901	Hallatt, G. W. Tuxford, 8, King Street, Manchester
January 27th, 1899	Halliwell, Charles, 158, Oldham Road, Shaw
November 6th, 1892	Hamilton, Thomas, The Elms, Altrincham
March 4th, 1898	Hamnett, Robert, 24, Norfolk Street, Glossop
December 5th, 1890	Hanson, George, Free Library, Rochdale
September 2nd, 1889	Harker, Robert B., Riversdale, Blackfield Lane, Kersal, Manchester
February 6th, 1885	Harrison, William, 28, Booth Street, Manchester
March 31st, 1885	*Hawkesbury, Right Hon. the Lord, F.S.A., Kirkham Abbey, York
June 13th, 1885	Heape, Charles, Hartley, High Lane, near Stock-
December 7th, 1883	Heape, Joseph R., Hartley, High Lane, near Stockport
March 2nd, 1900	Heape, Richard, Hall Bank, Rochdale
October 10th, 1890	Heape, Robert Taylor, The Sparth, Manchester Road, Rochdale
March 21st, 1883	Hearle, Rev. G. W., M.A., Newburgh, Wigan
October 7th, 1892	Henderson, George, 18, Nelson Square, Bolton
December, 1902	Henn, Rev. H., M.A., The Vicarage, Bolton Herford, Rev. P. M., M.A., The Rectory, Trinity
June 13th, 1886	Road, Edinburgh
September 4th, 1883	Hewitson, Anthony, Queen's Road, Fulwood,
September 4th, 1003	Preston
April 12th, 1901	Heywood, Jno., The Pike, Bolton
,,	

April 12th, 1901	Heywood, Mrs., The Pike, Bolton
May, 1902	Heywood, Thomas, 23, Queen Street, Oldham
March 21st, 1883	Heywood, Nathan, 3, Mount Street, Manchester
March 3rd, 1899	Hindley, Charles E., Polygon, Eccles
October 8th, 1886	*Holden, Arthur T., Waterfoot, Heaton, Bolton
April 7th, 1899	Holt, Oliver S., Sidcot, Ashley Heath, Bowdon
December 7th, 1888	Hornby, Miss Clara, 11, Beauchamp Street,
December /m, 1000	Stockport Stockport
January 11th, 1884	*** 11 1 0' YE TE D : 34 D
January 11th, 1004	Grosvenor Place, London, S.W. H., Bart., M.P., 35,
March 7th, 1884	Howorth, Daniel F., F.S.A. (Scot.), Grafton Place,
March /th, 1004	Ashton-under-Lyne
March 21st, 1883	Howorth, Sir Henry H., F.R.S., F.S.A., 30, Col-
March 21st, 1003	
April rath root	lingham Place, Cromwell Road, London, S.W.
April 12th, 1901	Howson, Rev. G. J., M.A., Christ Church Rectory, Salford
Enhances vot voor	
February 1st, 1895	Hudson, Rev. H. A., M.A., Holy Trinity Rectory,
March 4h -00-	445, Stretford Road, Manchester
March 4th, 1887	*Hughes, T. Cann, M.A., F.S.A., 78, Church Street,
March aret 1982	Lancaster Hulton W W P I D Hulton Doub Bolton
March 21st, 1883	Hulton, W. W. B., J.P., Hulton Park, Bolton
December 14th, 1900	Jackson, Mrs. E., Rookshaven, Knutsford.
December 7th, 1894	Jackson, Francis M., Sunnyside, Langham Road,
	Bowdon
September 26th, 1889	Jackson, Jno. R., 50, Gladstone Road, Urmston
September 2nd, 1899	John Rylands Library, Manchester
January 10th, 1902	Johnson, Miss Alice, 12, Castle Park, Lancaster
April 11th, 1890	Johnson, David, Albion House, Old Trafford
May 2nd, 1885	*Johnson, William, 91, Hulton Street, Moss Side
January 21st, 1886	Johnson, Mrs., 91, Hulton Street, Moss Side
April 24th, 1896	Joynson, R. H., Chasefield, Bowdon
May 2nd, 1885	Kay, James, Lark Hill, Timperley
September 22nd, 1899	
Doptomsor Zzna, 1099	Stockport
June 11th, 1886	*Kay, Thomas, J.P., Moorfield, Stockport
December 14th, 1900	Keen, James, Hindley Green
December 1st, 1899	Kenyon, The Right Hon. Lord, Gredington,
200011001 151, 1099	Whitchurch
January 14th, 1898	King, Alfred, Bleasdale, Garstang
October 10th, 1890	*Kirkham, William H., Hanmer Lea, Heaton Moor
March 21st, 1883	Kirkman, William Wright, 8, John Dalton Street,
	Manchester
January 26th, 1894	Knott, J. R., 103, Union Street, Oldham
J 2011, 1094	zmott, j. 20., 103, Onion Street, Olunam
March 7th, 1890	Lancaster, Alfred, Free Library, St. Helens
April 7th, 1899	Lancaster Public Library
/····, 1099	Lancaster Labric Entrary

October 12th, 1888	Larmuth, George H., F.S.I., The Grange, Hand- forth
September 24th, 1897 January 27th, 1899 July 18th, 1885	Larmuth, G. Harold, The Grange, Handforth Law, Miss, Roslin, Manor Avenue, Urmston *Lawton, Mrs., Altrincham
May, 1902	Leach, R. E., M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., The Croft, Yealand Conyers, Carnforth
March 21st, 1883	Leach, Mrs., Elm House, Whalley Range
December 7th, 1883	Leech, Miss M. L., Ash Leigh, Woodsend Road, Flixton
April 26th, 1889	*Lees, John W., Greengate, Chadderton, Oldham
March 21st, 1883	Letts, Rev. E. F., M.A., Rose Hill, Carlton Road, Bournemouth
June 11th, 1886	*Lever, Ellis, Colwyn Bay
November 4th, 1892	Lobenhoffer, Prof. Carl, Sunny Bank, Wilmslow
December 13th, 1901	Long, Wm., Lansdowne Road, West Didsbury
March 21st, 1883	Lord, H., 42, John Dalton Street, Manchester
March 13th, 1903	Maclure, Alan F., 36, Brazennose St., Manchester
November 4th, 1898	Macpherson, Donald D., Bexton Croft, Knutsford
January 9th, 1903	Madeley, Charles, The Museum, Warrington
August 15th, 1885	*Makinson, W. G., The Florida, Ashton-on-Ribble
March 21st, 1883	March, H. Colley, M.D., F.S.A., Portesham, Dorchester
December 12th, 1902	Marquis, Jas. T., Manchester and County Bank Limited, Colne
March 21st, 1883	Martin, William Young, M.D., J.P., The Limes, Walkden, Bolton
November 5th, 1886	Massey, Arthur W., 27, Ackers Street, Chorlton- on-Medlock
January 9th, 1903	May, Thos. F.E.I.S., Lomnay, Lower Walton, Warrington
November 1st, 1895	Mayer, Charles, Architect, John Dalton Street, Manchester
February 3rd, 1899	Middleton, Thomas, 8, Manchester Road, Hyde
April 12th, 1901	Miller, Dr. A. K., 114, Lansdowne Road, West Didsbury
March 21st, 1883	Milner, George, J.P., Elmscot, Timperley
March 21st, 1883	Moorhouse, Frederick, 51, Central Road, Withington
December 14th, 1900	Morris, Wilmot Banks, 17, Acresfield, Bolton
May 8th, 1896	Mosley, William, Cheadle
January 8th, 1892	Moss, Fletcher, Old Parsonage, Didsbury
January 9th, 1903	Mounsey, Wm., Grasmere, Manley Road, Man- chester
January 9th, 1903	Mounsey, Miss, Grasmere, Manley Road, Man- chester
November 3rd, 1899	Moss, William J., 5, Cross Street, Manchester

December 7th, 1888

Mullen, Ben H., M.A., Peel Park, Salford April 24th, 1896 April 24th, 1806 Musgrave, Jas., Knowsley Grange, Heaton, Bolton Myers, T. Harrison, Lea Lodge, Preston September 26th, 1902 January 27th, 1893 Neal, Thos. Dale, Wilmslow *Neville, Charles, Bramhall Hall, Stockport October 7th, 1887 New York Public Library January 14th, 1898 Newman, Thos., Atkinson Free Library, Southport November 4th, 1892 March 21st, 1883 Newton, Miss, Holly House, Flixton June 26th, 1883 Newton, C. E., Timperley Lane, Altrincham Nicholson, Albert, Portinscale, Hale, Bowdon September 4th, 1883 April 7th, 1899 Nicholson, E. W. B., M.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford August, 1899 Nuttall, J. R., 13, Thornfield, Lancaster March 6th, 1896 Ogden, J. N., Piccadilly, Manchester October 8th, 1886 Oldham Free Library October 11th, 1895 Ormerod, Ben., Sandywood, Pendlebury Ormerod, J. P., Castleton, near Manchester January 31st, 1890 October 10th, 1890 Ormerod, Thomas P., Castleton, Manchester April 2nd, 1886 *Owen, Major-General C. H., R.A., Hanley, Camberley, Surrey March 21st, 1883 Oxley, H. M., Deansgate, Manchester Parker, John, Springfield Lane Oil Works, Salford January 11th, 1895 January 26th, 1894 Parker, Thomas, 49, Trevelyan Buildings, Corporation Street, Manchester April 12th, 1901 Partington, S. W., Dalmeny, Shavington Avenue, Chester March 21st, 1883 Pearson, George, Marsden Square, Manchester September 26th, 1889 Pearson, Joseph, 45, The Crescent, Salford January 27th, 1893 Pearson, Mrs., 45, The Crescent, Salford Peel, Robert, Fulshaw Avenue, Wilmslow May 4th, 1883 November 6th, 1896 *Phelps, Josh. J., 46, The Park, Eccles Porter, Alexander, Norwood, Prestwich February 14th, 1902 March 5th, 1886 Potter, Robert Cecil, Heald Grove, Rusholme April 7th, 1889 Preston, R. Basnett, F.R.I.B.A., 51, South King Street, Manchester Pugh, Rev. George Augustus, M.A., R.D., The September 22nd, 1899 Rectory, Ashton-under-Lyne October 7th, 1887 Pullinger, William, Fernacre, Romiley Quine, Dr. A. H., I, Sandy Grove, Eccles Old 1903 Road, Pendleton Radcliffe, R. D., M.A., F.S.A., Old Swan, Liver-January 9th, 1903

Redford, Walter J., Deane Holme, Deane, Bolton

October 17th, 1884 Reid, David, Bower Bank, Bowdon March 21st, 1883 Renaud, Frank, M.D., F.S.A., Hillside, Alderley Edge January 13th, 1899 Ridyard, John, F.G.S., Hilton Bank, Little Hulton September 29th, 1884 Rimmer, John H., M.A., LL.M., Bank House, Bickerton, Malpas April 11th, 1902 Roberts, Samuel, Lees Road, Oldham December 14th, 1900 Robinow, Mrs., Fairoak, West Didsbury May 2nd, 1885 *Robinson, J. B., F.R.M.S., St. Elmo, 21, Moorfield Road, West Didsbury December 21st, 1882 Robinson, Captain Marshall, 24, Nelson Square, Bolton November 3rd, 1893 Robinson, W. H., Blackfriars Street, Manchester December 1st, 1899 Robinson, W. P., New York February 4th, 1887 Roeder, Charles, South Parade, Manchester July 26th, 1884 *Roper, W. O., F.S.A., Yealand Conyers, Carnforth May 4th, 1883 Rowbotham, G. H., 11, Wilbraham Chorlton-cum-Hardy April 22nd, 1884 Rudd, John, 172, Palatine Road, Didsbury March 21st, 1883 Russell, Rev. Canon E. J., M.A., The Vicarage, Todmorden Sandbach, J. C. H., 25, Albert Road, Southport January 19th, 1900 May 4th, 1883 Sandbach, J. E., Albert Square, Bowdon Scarisbrick, Charles, Town Hall, Southport April 11th, 1902 April 14th, 1885 *Schwabe, Charles, The Orchards, Ashton-upon-Mersey June 26th, 1883 Scott, Fred, 33, Brazennose Street, Manchester November 5th, 1897 Seed, George H., Reinbeck, Lansdowne Road,

Didsbury November 3rd, 1893 Sever, W. M., Nant y Coed, Conway January 20th, 1895 Seville, Richard Taylor, 49, Stockport Road, Mossley March 21st, 1883 Shaw, Giles, 4, Ash Street, Southport November 7th, 1884 Shaw, James, 89, Walmersley Road, Bury November 18th, 1884 Sheriff, Herbert, Westroyd, Prestwich Park Sidebottom, Henry Hastings, 38, Lancaster 1903 Avenue, Manchester May 8th, 1896

March 21st, 1883

March 7th, 1884

October 8th, 1897

June 11th, 1886

April 6th, 1889

March 3rd, 1899

January 11th, 1889

Simpson, Jonathan, 14, Acresfield, Bolton Smith, C. C., Marsden House, Muswell Hill, N. Smith, David, J.P., 208, Upper Brook Street, Manchester

Smith, Francis, Egerton Terrace, Chorlton Road, Manchester

Smith, William Ford, Woodstock, West Didsbury Smith, William James, The Newlands, Leigh Smithies, Harry, 21, Rectory Road, Crumpsall Smithies, Miss, 21, Rectory Road, Crumpsall

January 13th, 1899	Snape, Henry, Snowdon Road, Eccles
March 21st, 1883	Standring, Alfred, LL.M., M.A., Dunwood Hall, near Endon, Stoke-on-Trent
March 21st, 1883	Stanning, Rev. Canon J. H., M.A., Leigh Vicarage, Lancashire
October 12th, 1894	Stead, Alice M., 3, Belgrave Place, Birkdale Road, Southport
October 11th, 1895	Stead, Edward F., 10, Adelaide Terrace, Waterloo, Liverpool
January 11th, 1900	Stocks, A. W., M.D., The Crescent, Cheadle, Cheshire
July 26th, 1884	*Storey, Herbert L., Lancaster
September 23rd, 1901	
September 23rd, 1901 September 23rd, 1901	
October 10th, 1890	Sutcliffe, John, Brookbank, Barlow Moor Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy
March 6th, 1896	Sutcliffe, William Henry, F.G.S., Shore Cottage, Littleborough
March 21st, 1883	†Sutton, Charles W., M.A., 284, Great Clowes Street, Higher Broughton
November 9th, 1900	Swarbrick, John, 30, St. Ann's Street, Manchester
April 2nd, 1886	*Tatham, Leonard, M.A., 1, St. James's Square, Manchester
October 12th, 1888	Tatton, Thomas E., Wythenshawe Hall
November 7th, 1884	Taylor, Alexander, St. Mary's Place, Bury
January 29th, 1902	Taylor, George, Buena Vista, Withington
March 21st, 1883	Taylor, Henry, F.S.A., Braeside, Tunbridge Wells, and Birklands, Southport
October 11th, 1896	Taylor, Isaac, Stanford, Rusholme
November 1st, 1895	Taylor, J. C., The Gables, Bramhall Park, Cheadle Hulme
March 21st, 1883	Taylor, Joshua, 277, Moorside, Droylsden
April 7th, 1899	Taylor, Walter, Milverton Lodge, Victoria Park, Manchester
October 8th, 1897	Taylor, Walter T., Greenmount, Westgate Avenue, Bolton
January 9th, 1903	Telford, Robert, 14, Lansdowne Road, West Didsbury
January 9th, 1903	Thomas, Joseph, Garstang
April 11th, 1902	Thompson, Jabez, Abbotsford, Cuddington, Northwich
April 17th, 1903	Tong, Livsey, L.R.C.P., Moorfield Road, Farnworth
June 30th, 1885	*Trappes, Charles J. B., J.P., Stanley House, Clitheroe
October 8th, 1896	*Tristram, William H., Darcy Lever Hall, Bolton
1903	Turnbull, William, Rose Bank, Ramsbottom

November 6th, 1896	Turner, James, Halliwell Street, Corporation
February 5th, 1886	Street, Manchester Turner, William, Purby Chase, Atherstone
July 31st, 1886	Underdown, H. W., Birkbeck Bank Chambers, Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, Lon- don, W.C.
December 7th, 1883	Waddington, William Angelo, St. Ann's Square, Manchester
July 8th, 1899	Wagstaff, John, Mottram House, Mottram-in- Longdendale
July 31st, 1886	Wales, George Carew, Conservative Club, Man- chester
April 12th, 1901 March 2nd, 1894	Wall, William, Upper Dicconson Street, Wigan Warburton, Samuel, Egerton Lodge, Bury Old Road, Manchester
November 6th, 1885	Warburton, W. Daulby, M.A., 83, Bignor Street, Cheetham
March 21st, 1883 June 11th, 1886	*Ward, James, B.A., Avenue Terrace, Leigh *Waters, Edwin H., Millmead, Axmouth, Colyford, Devon
July 31st, 1886	Watson, W. Alfred, 11, Mayfield Grove, Embden Street, Hulme
October 12th, 1888 April 6th, 1894 September 24th, 1897	*Watt, Miss, Speke Hall, near Liverpool Watts, James, Abney Hall, Cheadle *Wearing, James W., M.A., J.P., Fleet Square, Lancaster
March 3rd, 1899	Weber, Dr. Carl Otto, Heathfield, Middleton Road, Crumpsall
June 18th, 1898	Webster, W. D., Home Court, 24, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.
Decemcer 1st, 1899	Whitaker, James, 186, Shrewsbury Street, Manchester
April 7th, 1899	Whitney, George James, Warwick Terrace, Stretford
November 6th, 1896	Whowell, Fred, Wood End, Bromley Cross
December 21st, 1892	Wilkinson, J. P., C.E., 7, Arcade Chambers, St. Mary's Gate, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	*Wood, R. H., F.S.A., Belmont, Sidmouth, South Devon
January 26th, 1900 April 11th, 1890 March 21st, 1883	Wood, Thomas H., 378, St. Helens Road, Bolton Woodhouse, Samuel T., Abbotsley, Knutsford Worthington, Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., Broomfield, Alderley Edge
May 4th, 1883	Wright, T. Frank, 33, Whitelow Road, Chorlton- cum-Hardy
March 21st, 1883	†Yates, George C., F.S.A., Swinton, Manchester



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NOTE

This Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue

yearly.

The value of the Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

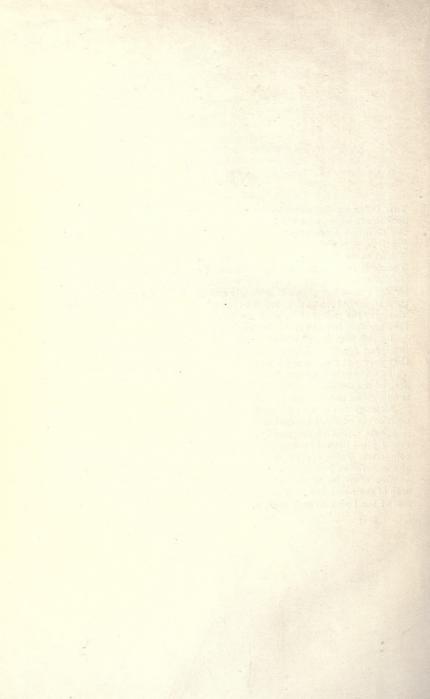
By this plan it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index, and that all transactions published in and since

that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 is needed. This work is now going through the press.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to the editor, Laurence Gomme, F.S.A., 24, Dorset Square, London, N.W.

Single copies of the yearly Index from 1891 may be obtained. The subscription list for the complete Index up to 1891 is still open, and intending subscribers should apply at once to Messrs. Archibald Constable & Co. Many of the Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies of the yearly Index to issue with their transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society.



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Peers. Scotland: Brydall. Campbell, Coles, Lewis, Mackay, MacRitchie, Mitchell, Munro. See "Aberdeen-shire," "Arran," "Caithness." "Eigg," "Elgin," "Fifeshire,"
"Glasgow," "Largs," "Paisley,"
"Stirlingshire," "Sutherland."

Scunthorpe: Gatty. Seaford : Rice. Seals: Atkinson, Warren. Send and Ripley: Johnston. Shakespeare : Sayle. Sherston: Ponting. Shifnal: Phillips.

Shrewsbury: Drinkwater, Fletcher, Morris, Phillips.

Shropshire: Auden, Drinkwater, Fletcher, Hope-Edwards, Phillips, Shropshire. See "Fitz," "Haugh-mond," "Oldbury," "Ruyton," "Shrewsbury," "Shifnal," "Uffington," "Whitchurch," "Willey."

Shute: Jewers. Silchester: Fox, Hope, Reid. Somerford (Great): Manley.

Somersetshire: Bates, Fry, Morgan. See "Bath," "Langford Budville,"
"Pitney Moor," "Wells," "Whatley," "Winsham."

Spain: Dalton. Spoons (wooden): Allen.

Staffordshire: See "Biddulph." Standon: Brown, Crofton.

Stanford Rivers: Round. Stansted Montfichet: Laver.

Stirlingshire: Anderson. Stockbury: Cooke. Stockleigh English: Erskine-Risk. Stone implements: See "Prehistoric."

Strickland: Whiteside.

Suffolk: Suffolk. See "Bardwell,"
"Blythburgh," "Ickworth."

Sundials: Evans.

Surrey: André, Bax, Cooper, Napper, Robarts. See "Carshalton," "Guildford," "Kingston - on -

"Guildford," "Kingston - on - Thames," "Leatherhead," "Send and Ripley," "Woodmansterne."
Sussex: André Dawson, Hall, Haverfield, Johnston, Read, Rice, Round, Sussex: See "Atherington," "Binderton," "Boxgrove," "Chichester," "Cuckfield," "Eastbourne," "Elsted," "Ford," "Hardham," "Hastings," "Lewes," "Pulborough," "Seaford," "Treyford," "Warnham," "West Dean," "Warnham," "West Dean,"
"Willingdon," "Woollavington."

Sutherland: Anderson Mackay.

Tasmania: Moir. Tattershall: Sympson. Templepatrick: Latimer. Tewkesbury: Warren. Tiptree: F. Tobacco pipes: Price.

Toddington: Baddeley. Tolleshunt Tregoz: Round. Tong: Calvert.

Totnes: Windeatt. Trephining: Crump. Treyford : Rice.

Tumuli, Barrows: Barnes, Collingwood, Hughes, Worth.

Turville: Cocks, Forsyth. Tynemouth: Adamson.

Uffington: Fletcher. Ulvescroft: Patrick. Upchurch: Woodruff. Uphall: Primrose.

Vale Royal: Phelps.

Wakefield: Peacock.

Wales: Allen, Laws, Yeatman. See "Cardiff," "Cardiganshire," "Fishguard," "Llandaff,"

"Fishguard,"
"Llantrissant."

Walmer: Fry, Woodruff. Waltham: Tydeman. Waltham (Little): Christy.

Ware: Andrews. Warnham: André. Warter: Hope. Watton: Hope.

Wells: Church, Coleman. Welwyn: Caldecott, Gerish. West Dean: Rice.

Westbury-upon-Trym: Hudd. Westmorland: See "Comer Hall," "Kentmere;" "Strickland," "Witherslack."

Wethersfield: Round. Whatley: Hartshorne.

Whitchurch: Thompson, Vone. Wilderspool: May.

Willey: Phillips.

Willingdon: Rice, Wills: Calvert, Round, Sherwood, Shropshire.

Wiltshire: Powell. See "Chalfield (Great)" "Corston," "Durring-ton," "Malmesbury," "Netheravon," "Savernake," "Sherston,"
"Somerford (Great)."

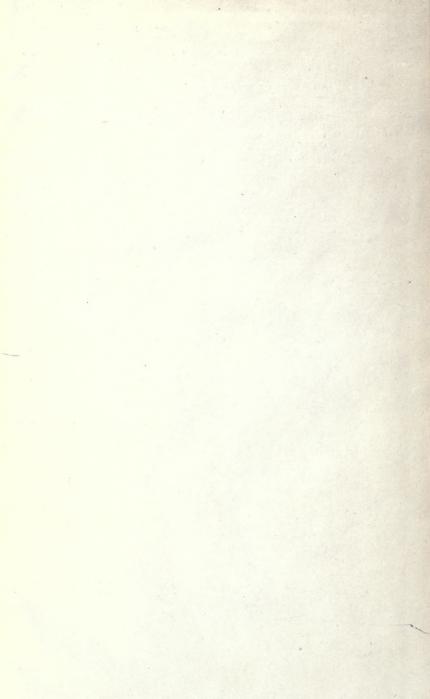
Winsham: Lott. Wirral: Pool. Witherslack: Hutton. Wittenham (Little): Cozens. Wollaton: Gotch. Wolsey (Cardinal): Evans. Woodmansterne: Lambert. Woollavington: Rice.

Worcester: James. Worcestershire: Walters. See "Kempsey," "Malvern (Great)."

Wormley: Austin. Wrexham: Palmer.

Yarburgh: Fowler.
Yorkshire: Lay. See "Burnby,"
"Flamborough," "Gwendale
Magna," "Kilnwick Percy,"
"Kirkham," "Kirklees," "Leeds,"
"Millington," "Nunburnholme,"
"Ormesby," "Patrington," "Saddleworth," "Watkefield," "Warton," ter," "Watton."







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